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## I.—THE SCEPTICAL ASSAULT ON THE ROMAN TRADITION CONCERNING THE DRAMATIC SATURA.

For more than twenty years Professors F. Leo and G. L. Hendrickson have sought to discredit the Roman tradition which declares that, prior to the time of wide and continuous influence of the Greeks upon the Roman mind and on Latin literature, there had been in Italy and in Rome native or quasi-native forms of the drama, among them the *Versus Fescennini* and the dramatic *Satura*.<sup>1</sup> No one, so far as I know, has, in print,

<sup>1</sup>For Leo's papers see *Hermes* 24 (1889) .67-84, *Varro und die Satire*; *Hermes* 39 (1904) .63-77, *Livius und Horaz über die Vorgeschichte des Römischen Dramas*. These had been preceded in Germany by a brief discussion by O. Jahn; *Hermes* 2 (1867) .225-226. Up to 1894 the sceptics had attracted little attention in Germany, and none in America. Hendrickson (*A. J. P.* XV 5, note 2) cited only Kiessling (in his edition of Horace's *Sermones*, 1886, *Einleitung* VII, his notes on *Serm.* 1. 4. 1-6, and later his notes on *Epistles* 2. 1. 139-156), and B. Grubel, *De Satirae Romanae Origine et Progressu* (a Program of Posen, 1883), as followers of Jahn prior to Leo's first paper in 1889.

For Hendrickson's papers see *A. J. P.* XV (1894). 1-30, *The Dramatic Satura and the Old Comedy at Rome*; *A. J. P.* XIX (1898). 285-311, *A Pre-Varronian Chapter of Roman Literary History*; *Classical Philology* 6 (1911). 129-143, *Satura—The Genesis of a Literary Form*; *Cl. Phil.* 6, 334-343, *The Provenance of Jerome's Catalogue of Varro's Works*.

For a time Professor Hendrickson's first two papers attracted some attention in this country: see papers by E. M. Pease, *The Satirical Element in Ennius*, *P. A. P. A.* 27 (1896). xlviii-1; Professor Pease again, the article *Satira*, in *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* (1897), 1413-1416; H. M. Hopkins, *Dramatic Satura in Relation to Book Satura*, *P. A. P. A.* 31 (1900). 1-li; B. L. Gildersleeve, the article *Satire*, in the *Universal Cyclopaedia and Atlas* (1901); J. Elmore, *Livy's Account of the Dra-*

subjected their arguments to searching and detailed criticism. That criticism it is the purpose of the present paper to supply, so far as the limits of space allow. The sceptics have had so long an inning, their arguments are so intricate and involve so many details, they have said so many things that, in my opinion, are open to question, that I can do no more now than consider several of their more important utterances; I must perforce follow an eclectic method, picking out the more serious matters, and putting off to another paper (perhaps to other papers) much that I should like to say. I regret that the paper will seem to be devoted so largely to destructive criticism. It must be remembered, however, that the destructive criticism in this matter of the dra-

matic Satura, P. A. P. A. 34 (1903), lxvii-lxviii. None of these papers handled the subject at length. Nor was Professor Hendrickson always named. American editors of works dealing directly or indirectly with Roman satire or Roman comedy have handled the matter somewhat gingerly, returning, on the whole, a verdict of not proven: see e. g. H. R. Fairclough, *Terence, Andria* (1901), p. ix; H. C. Elmer, *Terence, Phormio* (1895), xiv, note; H. L. Wilson, *Juvenal* (1903), vi, n. 5; J. C. Rolfe, *Horace, Satires and Epistles* (1901), xvi, with note 2. In *Cl. Phil.* 7, 59-65, J. W. D. Ingersoll, *Satire: its Early Name*, supports Hendrickson's paper in *Cl. Phil.* 6, 129-143.

In Germany, prior to Hendrickson's first paper, Julius Orendi, *M. Terentius Varro, die Quelle zu Livius vii, 2* (a Bistritz program of 1891), had argued that Valerius Maximus is not, as so many scholars have thought, a mere paraphrase of Livy 7, 2. I had myself, before I knew of Orendi's paper, reached the same conclusion; there are some marked differences between the two passages.

For other German discussions see e. g. Schanz, *Römische Litteraturgeschichte*<sup>3</sup>, §§ 9, 55; Schanz<sup>3</sup> (1907), § 9, pp. 21-23; A. Dieterich, *Pulcinella* (1897), 75-78; Fr. Marx, *Lucilius* (1904), I, IX-XVII; E. Norden, in Gercke and Norden's *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* (1910), 2, 454-455; Vahlen, *Ennius*<sup>2</sup> (1903), CCXIV. Vahlen agrees, in a brief obiter dictum, with the sceptics; Marx is a thorough-going sceptic; Dieterich and Norden stand by the tradition. F. Plessis, *La Poésie Latine* (1909), 104-106, de Mirmont, *Études sur l'ancienne Poésie Latine* (1903), 353, and Duff, *A Literary History of Rome* (1909), 73, 80-83 are also true to the tradition (though there is nothing in Duff to show that he had examined the views of the sceptics).

Since the present paper was begun, Mr. R. H. Webb, in *Cl. Phil.* 7, 177-189, *On the Origin of Roman Satire*, has come to the defense of the tradition.

I have myself thrice already handled our subject, very briefly: see A. J. P. XXIX (1908), 468-470, in a review of Marx's *Lucilius*; P. A. P. A. 40 (1910), lii-lvi, *The Dramatic Satura among the Romans*; *Cl. Phil.* 7 (1912), 131, in a review of Kiessling-Heinze<sup>4</sup>, *Horace, Satiren*.

For the method used in referring to these papers see below, end of note 3 to page 127.

matic satira comes really from those who are seeking to discredit the Roman tradition, not from the champions of that tradition.

The problem involved in the question of the existence or non-existence of the dramatic satira among the Romans is one of prime importance to the student of Latin literature, especially to one who would preserve for the Romans credit for some measure of originality (A. J. P. XXIX 469); it deserves, therefore, the most careful consideration.<sup>1</sup>

I cling firmly to the principle, sufficiently obvious, yet repeatedly disregarded, that, though the ancients constantly made mistakes, not merely in the domain of speculation about facts and their causes, but even in the realm of fact itself, yet, after all, since they saw matters at closer range than we can see them, and, in the field of fact, with a larger and surer understanding than even the best modern scholar can ever hope to win, it follows that, in certain fields at least—in the realm of the objective, of fact—they are more likely to be right than modern scholars are. In such matters, then, I incline to stand by the ancient tradition, and to demand of the sceptic evidence thoroughly convincing.<sup>2</sup>

From this principle certain corollaries flow. First, we must in each disputed case determine exactly what the ancient tradition is. Secondly, having determined what the tradition really is, we are bound to ask whether it is in itself inherently probable or palpably absurd, whether what we know from other sources, independently of the tradition, about the people involved—Greeks or Romans—confirms the tradition or refutes it. Accordingly, a complete discussion of the dramatic satira among the Romans involves an examination of passages in Vergil, Horace, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Diomedes, Donatus, Euanthius, Aristotle, and in the treatises *περὶ κωμῳδίας* prefixed to the scholia on Aristophanes.<sup>3</sup> Right procedure demands that we should at first

<sup>1</sup> In A. J. P. XXIX 469-470 I have pointed out that, since dramatic Fescennines and dramatic satira rest on essentially the same evidence, the rejection of one involves the rejection of the other. This point Schanz<sup>3</sup> § 9, pp. 21-22, did not see: see below, pages 146-148.

<sup>2</sup> Compare my protest in A. J. P. XXXII 9 against the arbitrary treatment meted out by scholars to Gellius.

<sup>3</sup> See Vergil, Georgics 2, 380-389; Livy 7, 2; Horace Epp. 2, 1, 139-156; Valerius Maximus 2, 4, 4; Diomedes, in Keil's Grammatici Latini 1, 482-492,

keep the Latin passages apart from the Greek, and that we should study them first by themselves; further, each individual Latin passage should be isolated, sterilized, so to say, kept clear of all contamination by other Latin passages, as if it alone supplied our entire store of information concerning real or supposed forms of the early Roman drama. What did Horace really say? what did Livy say? what views did Aristotle set forth? Are the Latin passages reducible to one or are they more or less independent one of another? To say that there may be much surface resemblance with wide fundamental divergence is a platitude; yet obvious as this fact is, it has been forgotten by our sceptics concerning the dramatic *satura*.<sup>1</sup> Is the view set forth by the Latin passages so far identical with that outlined by Aristotle and (or) other Greek sources that we must assume dependence of the Latin versions on the Greek? or are there divergences which prove the Latin narratives to be independent of the Greek? Having done all this, we must ask whether in our knowledge of the Roman character, temperament, mental equipment, or history we find suggestion or evidence confirmatory of the tradition about the dramatic *satura*, or whether it is rather true that such knowledge requires us to dismiss the narratives under review. These things the sceptics have not done.<sup>2</sup>

Since I have already (P. A. P. A. 40, lii-lvi) given an indication of the results of the application of such method, the present

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especially 485-486; Aristotle, *Poetics*, chapters IV-V, 1448-1449, *Nicom. Eth.* 4, 14.

The treatises *περὶ κωμῳδίας* may be conveniently found in the Teubner text of Aristophanes, by Bergk, I, XXIX-XLVII, and in G. Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Berlin, 1899), I, 3-53. Kaibel also gives, pages 53-71, the pertinent excerpts from Diomedes, Euanthius, and Donatus. For Euanthius and Donatus see also P. Wessner, *Donati Commentum Terenti*, I, 13-31.

I am obliged, by lack of space, to assume that the reader will have the text of the foregoing passages at all times at hand; if this paper is to be kept within bounds, quotations must be used sparingly.

Again, to save space, I shall cite or quote the papers referred to above, p. 125, n. 1, in the briefest possible way, giving the author's name, and the page number, or, if the author has several papers within our field, volume and page number. I trust the inconvenience caused by this space-saving plan will not be great.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my remarks in P. A. P. A. 40, lii-liii. Leo 39. 69-72, did indeed apply the method outlined above to Livy and Horace, but he did not go far enough; he was, further, blinded again by his desire to prove a specific point.

<sup>2</sup> See P. A. P. A. 40, lv-lvi.



paper will be devoted to a review of some of the sceptical articles. In Hermes 2. 225-226 O. Jahn declared that Livy 7. 2 rested on the combinations of some grammarian,<sup>1</sup> because (1) the development of comedy there given is too clean cut to be the reflex of fact, (2) the narrative is markedly aetiological in character, (a) in the account of the *canticum* (§§ 9-10), (b) in what is said of the privileged position of the *actores fabularum Atellanarum* (§§ 11-12). Of these points (1) is a purely subjective assertion; to others Livy's narrative has seemed less orderly. (2) involves a curious lack of logic. In Livy, §§ 9-10, 11-12, two things are involved: (a) facts, real or alleged, (b) explanations of those facts. We thus come at once to the distinction drawn above, page 127. Absolute foolishness in connection with (b) is no proof of error in (a). Jahn himself describes the phenomena as "zwei noch in späterer Zeit festgehaltene, auffallende Gebräuche". In the mimi and the pantomimi we have precisely that division of functions which Livy asserts with respect to the delivery of the cantica in the time of Livius Andronicus.<sup>2</sup> Pliny Epp. 9.34 attests, for oratory, a similar division. Since he is himself a bad reader, one of his freedmen is to 'recite' for him. Ipse nescio, he continues, quid illo legente interim faciam, sedeam defixus mutus et similis otioso, an, ut quidam, quae pronuntiabit murmure oculis manu prosequar. Sed puto me non minus male saltare quam legere.

Livy, continues Jahn, differentiates sharply the native *iuventus* with their "freies Spiel" and the professional actors (foreigners, he calls them), with their artistic drama,<sup>3</sup> "wobei die Parallele mit dem griechischen Satyrdrama, wiewohl sie nicht ausgesprochen

<sup>1</sup> Jahn thought of Varro, De Originibus Scenicis. A strange way to prove a narrative false, this way of tracing it to the doctissimus Romanorum! The sceptics have made Varro out both knave and fool.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Friedländer in Marquardt, Röm. Staats<sup>2</sup>. 3. 554 (1885), Sitteng<sup>6</sup>, 2. 447-448 (the latest edition available to me). In the latter place he remarks that the separation of singing and gesticulation described by Livy facilitated the resolution of the drama into its elements (its reversion to type, we might say).

<sup>3</sup> Livy (§ 7) clearly enough assigns the *saturae* to *vernaculi artifices*. Foreigners he mentions in terms but once; they were the imported Tuscan ludiones (§ 4). That these were professionals I have urged in P. A. P. A. 40. liv, but they had nothing to do with the artistic drama. See also below, p. 136, n. 4. Livius Andronicus, pioneer in the really artistic drama, was of course foreigner also; but that Livy does not say. Jahn was sadly confused.

wird, unverkennbar ist".<sup>1</sup> The "formlose satura"<sup>2</sup> (*satura*, he thinks, is conceived of by Livy as a peculiarly Roman form of the drama) the *iuventus* kept to themselves,<sup>3</sup> even after Andronicus began *argumento fabulam serere*, exactly as "in Attika der ausgebildeten Tragödie gegenüber das οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον das Satyr-drama als Begleiter der Tragödie hervorrief".

The two preceding paragraphs, with the footnotes, have made it clear, I hope, that Jahn was largely, if not wholly wrong. Yet his paper deserves the attention bestowed upon it here, because in three important matters it has been and is still 'massgebend' for the sceptics. (1) Others—e. g. Leo 24. 77, Hendrickson 15. 3—have held that the account in Livy was too good to be true; (2) Leo, *ibid.*, Hendrickson 15. 1-3, Schanz<sup>3</sup>, § 9, Schanz<sup>3</sup>, § 9, p. 21, all emphasize the aetiological element in Livy: none of them notes the point made by me above in this connection, page 129; (3) Kiessling and Leo (see below, note 1) and Hendrickson 15. 4, 10-19, 29-30 made the *saturnae* an invention of some grammarian, as an assumed analogue to something in the actual development of the Greek drama.<sup>4</sup>

Next comes F. Leo's paper, Varro und die Satire, *Hermes* 24 (1889). 67-84. Most fully condensed it runs thus: (1) All Roman accounts of the *saturnae* (of comedy and satire<sup>5</sup>) go back to one

<sup>1</sup>This suggestion Kiessling<sup>1</sup>, VII (see below, note 4), and Leo 24. 77, adopted. They, with Jahn, failed to note that Livy was talking only of comedy, that the satyrdrama belonged with tragedy. See Hendrickson's convincing refutation of their arguments, 15. 7-9. In 39. 67, n. 1 Leo withdrew the suggestion, yielding to Hendrickson.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (§ 7) in fact makes the *saturnae* a considerable improvement in form over the Fescennines. See Weissenborn-Müller *ad loc.*, and Hendrickson 15. 12-13 (the latter, however, goes too far: see below, page 145).

<sup>3</sup>What the *iuventus* kept for themselves was the (revised) Fescennines: compare Livy § 11 with § 5, and see Hendrickson again, 15. 7-9.

<sup>4</sup>Kiessling, the next sceptic of importance (1886), need not detain us long; see above, note 1. In accordance with the plan of his book he made his statements in dogmatic fashion, without evidence or citation of authorities. No doubt, however, he had Jahn's article in mind. In the third Auflage of his edition of the Satires of Horace, prepared by R. Heinze (1906), there was no real change, except that Accius rather than Varro was suggested as the source of Livy's narrative: here one sees the influence of Hendrickson 19. In the fourth Auflage, also by Heinze (1910), Accius's name is withdrawn, as is also the suggestion that the *saturnae* were an analogue to the Satyrdrama: see *Cl. Phil.* 7. 131.

<sup>5</sup>Leo does not explain why he begins an article on Varro und die Satire by talking of comedy; throughout he talks more of satire than of comedy. For

source, Varro;<sup>1</sup> (2) Varro derived his account, not from fact, but from Greek accounts of Greek comedy.<sup>1</sup> A fuller analysis, which will, I hope, be of service, follows.

(1) To Roman comedy *ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν* was unknown;<sup>2</sup> the *Leges XII Tabularum*, police vengeance, and the *actio iniuriarum* all alike threatened the scoffer (67). (2) Lucilius first shook off these shackles (68). (3) The etymologies of *satura* given by Diomedes go back through Suetonius to Varro. So O. Jahn, *Rh. Mus.* 9. 629.<sup>3</sup> The

the explanation see Horace *Serm.* 1. 4. 45-65, noting especially that *comoedia* is the subject of discourse throughout, that the word is to be supplied as grammatical subject in 63, and that in 65 it is replaced by *genus hoc scribendi* (plainly 'satire': cf., in *S.* 1. 4, *scripta mea*, 22-23, *genus hoc*, 24, *his*, 56, in *S.* 1. 10, *haec*, 37, *hoc*, 46. On Horace's practice in thus designating his writings in *Sermones* I Hendrickson, *Cl. Phil.* 6. 131, rests in part his theory of the late origin of *satura* as a literary term: see below, p. 144, n. 1). Manifestly to Horace comedy and satire were convertible terms: see P. A. P. A. 40. lv (second full paragraph).

<sup>1</sup> Leo's paper is thus an effort to supply the proof for Jahn's unsupported contentions (see above, p. 129).

<sup>2</sup> This opening remark seems at first blush irrelevant. But Leo begins thus because he means to argue that, since to Roman comedy (satire) personal invective was unknown, any account of Roman comedy (satire) which emphasizes the element of personal invective shows at once a non-Roman origin. One who sought a Roman parallel to the *ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν* of Old Comedy must find it, he urges, not in Roman comedy, but in Lucilius, as Horace did, in *S.* 1. 4. 1-6 (but see below, pages 141-144). Leo is paving the way for the point he brings out later, for which see the analysis of his paper, under 3, h,  $\beta$  (page 133). This argument is so important to his whole structure that it must be carefully examined.

<sup>3</sup> There is space to consider only a few points in Jahn's paper. To say that because Juvenal is not named by Diomedes his statements go back to ante-Juvenalian times is to strain too hard an argument sorely overworked by all our sceptics, the argument from silence. On the dangers of that argument see e. g. A. J. P. XXVIII 64-65, XXIX 469, and below, page 138. Jahn himself notes that Jerome, a diligent reader of Juvenal, does not mention him in his *Chronica*: the argument from silence per se would prove that Jerome did not know Juvenal at all.

Another reason advanced by Jahn for believing that Suetonius was Diomedes's source is the fact that he is mentioned by Diomedes, 491. 30. He is, but at the very end of a long chapter, 165 lines beyond the close of the discussion of *satura*: when finally named, he is cited for a very different matter, the *membra comoediarum Romanarum*, i. e. the *diverbium* and the *canticum*. It would be fairer to infer from the specific mention of him here that he was not the source elsewhere in the chapter.

reasons<sup>1</sup> for this view are: (a) Suetonius is named in this chapter; (b) Juvenal is not named: hence the original was written in ante-Juvenalian times; (c) Varro is named several times (488: see p. 69); (d) The four etymologies offered by Diomedes are reducible to two, one Greek, the other Latin: Varro often gives a similar choice between a Latin and a Greek etymology (70); (e) Lucilius is cited: Suetonius never cites Lucilius, Varro sometimes does (70-71);<sup>2</sup> Festus's explanation of *satura* (314, Müller) also probably contained a citation from Lucilius: hence Festus probably goes back through Verrius Flaccus to Varro, as Diomedes goes back through Suetonius to Varro (71); (g) Diomedes's explanations of *satura* as 'medley' fit Ennian satire, not Lucilian or later satire: hence they come from a time remote from his own day, i. e. from Varro (71).

Jahn held, finally, that Borghesi's investigations concerning the period at which Juvenal lived had shown that Suetonius could not have mentioned him. This is surely wrong. Juvenal's published work belongs to 100-130 A. D., Suetonius lived on to 150 or 160: see e. g., for Juvenal, Friedländer, Juvenal, 5-15, Wilson, Juvenal, xiii, with notes, A. J. P. XIX 193-194, Schanz<sup>3</sup>, § 419, p. 175, Duff, Juvenal, x, xv-xvii, Butler, Post-Augustan Poetry, 287, 289-290; for Suetonius, see Teuffel, §§ 347, 347. 8, E. Norden, in Gercke and Norden's *Einleitung*, etc., 3. 526, Leo in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, I. VIII. 367, Schuckburgh, *Vita Augusti*, xxviii-xxix. It should be added that Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* I. LIV-LV, and Reifferscheid, *Suetonii Reliquiae*, 4-22, 370-371, make Suetonius the source of Diomedes.

One point more. What of Diomedes's *nunc quidem* (balanced as it is by *olim* in the next sentence: see below, p. 133, n. 1)? Said by Diomedes himself, the words have no special sense discoverable now by us. To suppose that Diomedes quoted them bodily from his source is to make him out rather stupid. Grant, however, that he did quote them: if quoted from Suetonius, as Jahn, Leo, Keil, and Reifferscheid maintain, how—in view of the chronological data supplied above—could the readers of Suetonius have failed to apply them to Juvenal, unnamed though he was? If the words are quoted from Varro, they would most naturally have been interpreted by Varro's readers of Lucilius: thus we get the *ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν* in Lucilius, on Varro's authority (see, then, above, page 131, n. 2). In any case the two words, wholly neglected by the sceptics, are most important.

It is to be noted that in this paper, published in 1854, Jahn did not mention Livy's account at all. His scepticism was voiced thirteen years later.

<sup>1</sup>Of these (a) and (b) were urged by Jahn; the rest are due to Leo. Jahn had carried Suetonius's narrative back to Varro, but on other grounds.

<sup>2</sup>What of it? In his extant writings Suetonius had little, if any, chance to mention or quote Lucilius; their interests lay too far apart. In his *De Viris Illustribus* Suetonius did not in general go back much of Cicero's time: cf. Reifferscheid, *Suetonii Reliquiae*, 405, 422; Norden, *Kunstprosa*<sup>1</sup>, 387-388.

(h) The objection that Suetonius himself added to earlier accounts the words *archaeae caractere comoediae compositum*,<sup>1</sup> after Horace (71), Leo now meets by two lines of thought: (a) Euanthius uses the same general sources as Diomedes and Donatus employed, but of the special addition of Suetonius ap. Diom. 491. 30 ff.<sup>2</sup> neither Donatus nor Euanthius knows anything (71-72);<sup>3</sup> Euanthius, then, and Donatus did not draw directly on Suetonius. On the Greek side Euanthius is in accord with the treatises *περὶ κωμῳδίας*, for he differentiates types of comedy by their degree of freedom of speech (72). He connects Lucilius's satire with the Old Comedy (72): hence his general conception is akin to Varro's (so Rh. Mus. 38. 327) and the Aristotelian-Peripatetic-Alexandrian, but is independent of Suetonius (73); (β) It was the one-sided emphasis unnaturally laid on the personal element in the Old Attic Comedy that led to the equally one-sided emphasis unnaturally laid on the personal element in Roman satire. It was not inevitable that one should find the essential spirit either of Roman comedy or of Roman satire in the personal element (73-74).<sup>4</sup>

The accounts of Diomedes, Euanthius, Donatus, Horace, Livy, Varro—in reality one account—rest on the Aristotelian-Peripatetic-Alexandrian view of the history of Greek comedy, as seen e. g. in Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*, and in the treatises *περὶ κωμῳδίας*, in which the only criterion by which the types of Greek comedy are distinguished is the degree of sharpness of personal invective.<sup>5</sup> So Leo. The effort here was to bring the

<sup>1</sup> Diomedes begins thus (485): *Satira dicitur carmen apud Romanos nunc quidem maledicum et ad carpenda hominum vitia archaeae comoediae caractere compositum, quale scripserunt Lucilius et Horatius et Persius. Et olim carmen quod ex variis poematibus constabat satira vocabatur, quale scripserunt Pacuvius et Ennius.* Leo, 24. 69, without explanation, brackets *et Horatius et Persius*; Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1.55, does not nor does he refer in his *App. Crit.* to Leo.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. the discussion of the *membra comoediae*; see page 131, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Put more simply, this means: We do not get in Euanthius and Donatus every detail we find in Diomedes, but we do find in them, as in Diomedes (Suetonius), the connection of Lucilius with the Old Comedy. Thus we see, runs the argument, that the phrase *archaeae comoediae caractere compositum* is not Diomedes's (Suetonius's) own, but Varro's.

<sup>4</sup> But all Roman writers who speak of Lucilius at all definitely see this element in him; see below, pages 134-136. Leo is perpetrating Jahn's error (see above, p. 129) in confusing facts and (his own) theorizing about the facts.

<sup>5</sup> On this contention see P. A. P. A. 40, liv.



development of comedy into relation with political conditions and public circumstances (74-75). Livy depends on Varro, not on Varro's *De Originibus Scenicis*, as Jahn thought, but on some compendious account, standing, perhaps, in the *Antiquitates Divinae* or in the *De Poetis* (76, n. 2). To prove all this let us

(4) compare Livy's account in detail with Aristotle's. We shall thus see that Varro, Livy's source, stands in most intimate relation to the Peripatetic literary view (76-79); the definition of Lucilian satire rests also on this view (79). A priori this conclusion is entirely possible, in view of Varro's place in Roman literary history (79-81).<sup>1</sup>

The rest of the paper (81-84) is taken up with a discussion of a suggestion of Kiessling that Varro is Io. Lydus's ultimate authority for a statement connecting Lucilius with Rhinthon, and does not concern us.

Of this wide array of important matters only a few can be treated here. Further, only broad, general arguments can be considered; details must be avoided.

Leo's opening sentence, "Die römische Komödie kannte kein *ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν*", taken literally, is sufficiently disproved by what Leo himself writes, both in this paper and elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> concerning Naevius's freedom of speech. Suppose, however, we grant his contention: what of it? The more he emphasizes the absence of personal invective from Roman comedy,<sup>3</sup> the more he annihilates his own argument (page 73) that such invective is not of the

<sup>1</sup> On this see below, pages 139-144.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Plautinische Forschungen* (1894), 67-68, Leo accepted still the ancient accounts of Naevius's *παρηγορία* and imprisonment, but refused to believe the story of his recantation in prison (Gell. 3. 3. 15). So Schanz<sup>3</sup>, § 25 b, p. 62 (in his second edition he characterized Leo's scepticism as groundless). One sentence in *Pl. Forsch.* is interesting: "Naevius selbst, dessen Bedeutung nicht zum wenigsten darin liegt, das er der *ἀρχαία κωμῳδία* nachstrebte . . ."; this would seem to involve *ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν*. See above, p. 131, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> In seeking to prove this, Leo declares (68) that in more than one place we see the impression made on Plautus by freedom of speech; he cites, without quoting, *Trin.* 1057-1058 (spoken by a slave); *Truc.* 493-496 (soldier); *Per.* 75-76 (parasite); *Cur.* 512-514 (parasite); *Ps.* 296, 570. But *Cur.* 512, *Ps.* 296, 570 have not the remotest connection with Leo's theme; the other passages are innocuous enough: in none was Plautus thinking of satire or anything approaching personal invective. In *Trin.* 1056 the slave merely says: *ego sum insipientior, qui rebus cures publicis potius quam . . . meo tergo tutelam geram*. The kind of thing to which the slave here and the parasite in *Per.* 75 take exception is common enough in Plautus: thus in *Men.* 571-595 Menaech-

essence of Roman (Lucilian) satire, and that the emphasis laid by Horace and others on that element in Lucilius was unnatural, due not to the actual presence of that element in Lucilius, at least in the degree represented by the tradition, but to the importation of that element from Greek comedy into Lucilius by the Roman writer who first worked out, on the basis of Greek models, the whole tradition of Roman comedy-satire (see the analysis of Leo's paper, above, 3, h,  $\beta$ , p. 133). If Lucilius was the first to break the shackles which bound plebeian writer of plays and actor (68), as Leo argues, we cannot wonder that his freedom of speech was at once remarked and passed into the standing tradition concerning his writings. Horace, who knew Lucilius well, far better than any modern scholar has ever known him,<sup>1</sup> is witness to the presence in Lucilius of this element of personal invective: see S. 1. 4. 1-6, 1. 10. 3-15, 2. 1. 62-74: was Horace wholly deceived? Was Persius (1. 114 ff.),<sup>2</sup> was Juvenal (1. 165 ff.) deceived? Quintilian 10. 1. 93, though disagreeing sharply with Horace concerning the *form* of Lucilius's writing, none the less agrees with him concerning the *spirit*, finding in Lucilius (apparently on the basis of personal knowledge) *mira . . . libertas atque inde acerbitas et abundantia salis*. Both Horace (S. 1. 10. 2) and Quintilian (10. 1. 93) show clearly that Lucilius had his ardent admirers and constant readers: we may be sure, therefore, that statements made by either Horace or Quintilian concerning Lucilius would be carefully considered before they were published. That personal invective—ὄνομαστὶ κωμῶδειν—was of the essence of Old Comedy at Athens is attested sufficiently by the imposing authority of Aristotle:<sup>3</sup> but had we no word of Aristotle, we should see that

mus I delivers a long tirade against cherished Roman institutions (the *clientes*, the courts), and in 446-461 *Peniculus* the parasite inveighs against the *contio* and the *comitia* (but no individual is named: in 451 he curses, safely enough, *illum . . . qui primus <hoc> commentus est, contionem habere*).

<sup>1</sup> This is especially true, if Tyrrell, *Latin Poetry*, 178-183, is at all right in his suggestion that in his *Sermones* Horace was trying to modernize Lucilius. See also note 2.

<sup>2</sup> In T. A. P. A. 40. 121-150, Lucilius and Persius, Professor G. C. Fiske argues that for Persius Lucilius is a source second in importance only to Horace. He refers also to Horace's relations to Lucilius: see e. g. 125-126. Both themes he pursued in a paper read before the American Philological Association in December, 1911: see volume 42 of the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Association* (to appear later in 1912).

<sup>3</sup> See Hendrickson 15. 17-18 (after Bernays, *Ergänzung zu Aristoteles Poetik*, Rh. Mus. 8 (1853). 561 ff.).

element for ourselves in Aristophanes, particularly now that we can put Menander and Aristophanes, and not merely Aristophanes and Plautus or Terence, side by side. Leo's judgment of simple facts was warped by his preconceived theories concerning the source of Livy 7. 2.

If, then, Leo himself was mistaken in declaring that the ancient authorities, Greek and Roman, erred in stressing as they do the element of personal invective in Greek comedy and in Roman satire, especially as seen in Lucilius, his argument that the account of Roman comedy seen in Horace and Livy is based, not on fact, but on a perverted Aristotelian-Peripatetic-Alexandrian tendency to overstress the element of personal invective in the Old Comedy loses its weight.

On page 75, bottom, page 76, top, Leo remarks that Livy mentions the pestilence of 365-364 "nach annalistischer Quelle".<sup>1</sup> In note 1 to page 76 he adds: "Fest. 326: scaenicos primum fecisse C.—lium M. Popilium M. f. (Cons. 395)—aediles memoriae prodiderunt historici". If *historici* reported this, the version of the history of comedy which appears in Livy may well antedate Varro, and there will then be no room for the sort of unveracious activity (to use a mild term) ascribed by Leo and Hendrickson (15) to Varro (or Accius: Hendrickson 19). What then becomes of their elaborate structure? Further, part of the statements of Livy and Valerius Maximus is strongly confirmed by Tertullian *De Spectaculis* 5.<sup>2</sup> There Tertullian, who is trying to show that spectacles are idolatrous, says: *De originibus quidem, ut secretioribus et ignotis penes plures nostrorum, altius nec aliunde investigandum fuit quam de instrumentis ethnicalium litterarum. Exstant auctores multi qui super ista re commentarios ediderunt. Ab his ludorum origo sic traditur. Lydos ex Asia transvenas in Etruria consedissee Timaeus refert, duce Tyrrheno, qui fratri suo cesserat regni contentione. Igitur in Etruria inter ceteros ritus superstitionum suarum spectacula<sup>3</sup> quoque religionis nomine instituunt. Inde Romani arcessitos artifices<sup>4</sup> mutantur, tempus, enuntia-*

<sup>1</sup> See also Leo, 39. 73 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The passage well illustrates the (simple but often neglected) difference between stating facts and theorizing about them, to which attention was called above, pages 127, 129.

<sup>3</sup> Clearly theatrical performances. Compare *ludi*, *ludos* in the next two sentences; that word, without adjective, constantly = *ludi scaenici*.

<sup>4</sup> This reinforces my argument in P. A. P. A. 40. liv that the *ludiones ex Etruria acciti*, of Livy 7. 2. 4, were professionals.

tionem, ut ludi a Lydis vocarentur. Sed etsi Varro ludos a ludo, id est a lusu, interpretatur . . . Here Tertullian indicates as plainly as one can that Varro was not his authority; he cites Varro for a view in contrast to the one he accepts himself.<sup>1</sup>

On page 70 Leo contends that Festus 314 (Müller) is identical with our Diomedes passage. Festus says: *Satura et cibi genus . . . et lex . . . . T. Annius Luscus in ea quam dixit adversus Ti. Gracchum . . . et C. Laelius in ea quam pro se dixit dein postero die quasi per saturam sententiis exquisitis in deditionem accipitur*. It is fair enough to see, with Leo, a lacuna before *dein* . . . *accipitur*, since these words come in fact from Sallust *Iug.* 29. But I cannot follow Leo when he holds that the order of development in Festus is identical with that of Diomedes, and that, therefore, the two passages have the same source. The lacuna, he suggests, may well have contained the citation from Lucilius which we have in Diomedes; it is certain, he continues, that Lucilius's name stood "auch in der Quelle". One sees well here the magic power of a (purely subjective) *möglich* and *sicher*; they preclude all need of proof.

I note myself that in Festus there is no reference to the Greek etymology of *satura*, and no reference to the *satura lanx*. In Diomedes again, where there is no suspicion of a lacuna, there is no citation from T. Annius or from Laelius. As the text of Festus and Diomedes now stands we have the following exhibit:

<i>Festus.</i>	<i>Diomedes.</i>
.....	Two classes of <i>satura</i> : the Lucilian-Horatian-Persian type, the Ennian-Pacuvian type.
.....	<i>satura</i> =σάτυροι.
.....	<i>satura lanx</i> : two citations from the <i>Georgics</i> .
<i>satura farcimen</i> : no citation from Varro.	<i>satura farcimen</i> : Varro cited without name of work; Varro cited, from <i>Quaestiones Plautinae</i> .
<i>satura lex</i> : T. Annius Luscus and C. Laelius cited by name; a lacuna, unindicated, closed by a citation from Sallust, whose name does not appear.	<i>satura lex</i> : Lucilius cited by name; Sallust cited by name; no hint of a lacuna.

<sup>1</sup> Reifferscheid, *Suetonii Reliquiae*, 322-335, regarded Suetonius as Tertullian's main (sole?) authority and included in his fragments of Suetonius nine passages from Tertullian *De Spectaculis* 3-12. But this is to disregard Tertullian's *multi* and *ab his* in Chapter 5.

The wide differences between the two accounts did not trouble Leo. Ejecting from the text of Diomedes the names of Horace and Persius (69: see above, p. 133, n. 1) and the citations from the Georgics, and injecting into the Festus passage the Lucilius quotation actually found in Diomedes, he holds that the two passages are identical and come from the same source. But even this wrong and arbitrary procedure does not prove his point.

More than once the sceptics have laid stress on the fact that in Festus's (Verrius Flaccus's) discussion of *satura* nothing is said of a dramatic *satura*; hence, they infer, Verrius Flaccus knew nothing of such a dramatic *satura*; hence, they inferred again, there was no such dramatic *satura*.<sup>1</sup> Even assuming that their procedure, given their premise, is logical, the table drawn up above nullifies all such arguments; a fairer inference, surely, would be that neither Verrius Flaccus nor Festus nor Diomedes was giving all that was to be found about the *satura* by him who was willing to make an exhaustive search; hence, even granting that Festus's brief notice reproduces all that Verrius said about *satura* (a hypothesis negated by the very nature of epitomes), we have here no evidence that there was not a dramatic *satura* available to Verrius's inquiries, had he cared to make them.

Leo argues (71) that the 'medley' etymologies for *satura* given by Diomedes apply only to the *satura* of Ennius, not to Lucilius or his successors; it was only in his first period that Lucilius employed a variety of meters. Hence, he concludes, Diomedes's account here goes back to an early time, to some one who could keep the historical standpoint with respect to *satura* (Varro). This seems feeble. Why restrict *satura* to form, as Leo does in dragging in the meters of Lucilius? All Roman satirical writing is more or less of a medley; cf. Nettleship, *Satura* (Lectures and Essays, Second Series, 37, 39); Sellar, *Roman poets of the Republic*, 233-234 (on the discursiveness of Lucilius). Leo overlooks too the discursiveness of Juvenal, the medley character of his Satires, vouched for by Juvenal himself in 1. 81-85, verses which close with the famous words *nostri farrago libelli*.<sup>2</sup>

I pass over Leo's effort to show that Livy's account is identical with Aristotle's, because his main arguments are repeated and

<sup>1</sup> See e. g. Marx, *Lucilius* I. IX ff. (cf. my review of this book, A. J. P. XXIX 469); Elmore, *P. A. P. A.* 30.67. See now Webb, *Cl. Phil.* 7. 186, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Butler, *Post-Augustan Poetry*, 295, 318-319; Friedländer, *Juvenal*, 48-52, Wilson, *Juvenal*, xxiii-xxiv.



elaborated in Hendrickson's paper, A. J. P. XV 1-30, to which we must now turn (Hendrickson everywhere makes Leo's paper the foundation of his own). I have space to consider only a portion of the part (10-20) in which he compares Livy with Aristotle, and Livy with Horace. His purpose is to show that the two Roman accounts are one, that they are based on Aristotle, and that *satura* in Livy is merely the designation of a form of drama which Varro<sup>1</sup> invented in order to have in Roman literature a parallel to the Old Comedy of the Greeks.

According to Hendrickson, the most important phase in the development of Greek comedy, as described by Aristotle, was the introduction of the general plot, and the giving up of the *λαμβική ιδέα*, i. e. personal censure and invective. Here it will be best to quote Hendrickson's exact words (10):

"Epicharmus and Phormis in Sicily had been the first to make this change, but of the Athenians Κράτης πρῶτος ἤρξεν ἀφένεος τῆς λαμβικῆς ιδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους. With this description of the work of Crates compare the words of Livy (8): *Livius . . . ab saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere*.<sup>2</sup> That there is a relation here is obvious, and also that somehow or other the *saturae* are compared with the iambic *ιδέα*—a phrase which describes the element of personal abuse . . . which characterized

<sup>1</sup> In A. J. P. 19 he makes Accius the inventor. But the identity of the inventor is here immaterial.

<sup>2</sup> Leo 24. 78 had used these considerations, in more dogmatic, less reasoned form. Livy 7. 2. 8-9, which deals with the *canticum* matter (see above, page 129), he condemned severely as an aetiological myth, because Andronicus was not actor, but schoolmaster (the two things are incompatible, he says: I wonder why!) nor were all writers of plays actors then. By *omnes*, then, Livy meant the *vernaculi artifices*; the whole story is an invention on the analogy of the accounts of the Attic tragic and comic poet-actors. "Das mag uns zum Verständniss der Worte führen *ab saturis . . . serere*. Was hat Andronicus mit der 'satura', was überhaupt mit volksmässigen Rudimenten römischen Bühnenspiels zu thun? Er war von griechischer Geburt und Bildung, das Latein hat er erlernt; er übersetzte attische Tragödie und Komödie . . . Seine Einreihung in eine organische Entwicklung, wie sie Livius' Gewährsmann versucht, ist das denkbar gröbste litterarhistorische Missverständniss, erklärbar nur durch den Zwang der Schablone, nach der der Gewährsmann gearbeitet hat. Die Worte sagen selbst, woher sie stammen: sie sind eine fast wörtliche Wiedergabe des aristotelischen Κράτης . . . μύθους." There is here only assertion, not proof.

For sufficient commentary on these utterances see above, page 129, and below, pages 140-144.

the old comedy, in distinction from the μῦθοι or the μῦθος διὰ τῶν εἰκότων of the new comedy. ἡ λαμβικὴ ιδέα serves, therefore, at once to designate and to characterize the old comedy, which Horace describes in the well-known lines at the beginning of the fourth satire of the first book . . . For the same qualities of aggressive personal attack, Lucilius appears in a relation of dependence upon the old comedy in the verses which follow . . . If a relation was thus recognized between Lucilius and the old comedy because of common characteristics, what would be more natural than that a descriptive designation of the old comedy (ἡ λαμβικὴ ιδέα) should be interpreted by the name of the compositions of Lucilius (*saturae*)? Our conclusion therefore is that the term *satura* in Livy's account owes its origin to a transference of the word, in the sharply defined meaning given to it by the peculiarly aggressive quality of the poems of Lucilius, to an assumed Roman parallel of the old Attic comedy . . .".

In so far as there is proof or argument at all in this passage, it lies in the comparison which the reader is requested to make between the sentences Κράτης . . . μύθους and Livius . . . *serere*. Professor Hendrickson's mind (so too Leo's) seems to have worked as follows. Disregarding Aristotle's καθόλου<sup>1</sup>—a most important word—he concluded that these sentences were identical in the latter part: he took *serere* as=ποιεῖν, *argumento* as=λόγους καὶ μύθους (the correspondence, at least verbally, of πρῶτος and *primus* is obvious): hence he inferred that the sentences were identical elsewhere, and so he interpreted *ab* as parallel to ἀφόμενος, and so finally reached the conclusion that *saturis*, the sole remaining element of the Latin sentence, must be identical with τῆς λαμβικῆς ιδέας, all that remains of the Greek sentence. Here again the logical faculties of our sceptics seem defective. Granted that the sentences are identical in the latter part, the inference that they are identical elsewhere is a non-sequitur. But they are not identical in the latter part: Aristotle is speaking of a *specific kind of plot*, Livy is speaking of *plot in general*; Livius Andronicus brought true plot of any sort for the first time into the Latin drama. Further, Professor Hendrickson's contention proves too much. Granted the complete identity of the two

<sup>1</sup> On page 10, n. 3, Professor Hendrickson tries, unsuccessfully, I think, to show that elsewhere *argumentum* is a "very accurate rendering of καθόλου . . . μύθους". Granted, however, that he succeeded: the meaning of *argumento* in Livy is clear from the context.

sentences, it follows that the *saturae* had a plot, nay more, had individualizing, lampooning plot. But Livy clearly indicates that the *saturae* had no plot;<sup>1</sup> he mentions the word plot (*argumentum*) first in connection with Andronicus (§ 8). No word said of the *saturae* in § 7 suggests plot. Livy as clearly refrains from using any words concerning the *saturae* and other forms of the early Roman drama which can by any stretch of interpretation be regarded as setting forth the ideas contained in the phrase ἡ λαμβανὴ ἰδέα.<sup>2</sup> See P. A. P. A. 40, liv. To my eyes and mind, then, the sentences under consideration are at one at just a single point, in the words *πρῶτος* and *primus*. But even that identity is a purely verbal one; Crates and Andronicus were each pioneers, yes, but in quite different spheres.

I turn now to consider the use which Professor Hendrickson makes of Horace S. 1. 4. 1-6 in the passage quoted above from him (p. 140). To do this rightly it will be necessary to discuss the relation of Serm. 1. 4, 1. 10, and 2. 1 to one another. I accept the view that 1. 4 is Horace's *apologia pro scriptis suis*.<sup>3</sup> In the absence

<sup>1</sup> I am glad to find that Leo 39. 64 made this point clearly and well against Hendrickson (and, it may be said, against himself, 24). See also Webb, Cl. Phil. 7. 185.

<sup>2</sup> The only expressions in Livy at all pertinent here are *iocularia fundentes*, in § 5, said of the Fescennines, and *postquam lege hac fabularum ab risu ac soluto ioco res avocabatur* (§ 11) . . . There is nothing in these words suggestive of personal invective. If proof is needed, we may note that even *Fescennina licentia*, *opprobria rustica*, and *libertas* in Hor. Epp. 2. 1. 145, 146, 147 have no suggestion of the λαμβανὴ ἰδέα, as Horace clearly shows by 147-148, *libertas . . . lusit amabiliter, donec iam saevus apertam in rabiem coepit verti* . . . Livy's *iocularia* and *risus ac solutus iocus* are far removed from Horace's *saevus iocus*. Webb, Cl. Phil. 7. 188, n. 1, is sadly confused.

<sup>3</sup> I have carefully studied Professor Hendrickson's paper, Horace, Serm. 1. 4: A Protest and a Programme, A. J. P. XXI 121-143, but am not thereby induced to abandon the view that S. 1. 4 was written by Horace in self-defence. The latter part of 1. 4 does indeed contain a programme, but that programme is part of the self-defence. Professor Hendrickson had no warranty for saying that S. 1. 2 was the only piece in Lucilian vein Horace had ever written (see page 123: 122, top, is less venturesome). Nor had he authority for asserting that 1. 3 preceded in time 1. 4, and that, therefore, before he wrote 1. 4, Horace had already abandoned the Lucilian vein. I agree rather with Professor Morris that 1. 3 is late, that in "style and thought" it is "one of the mature satires of the First Book". The stage in the friendship of Horace with Maecenas represented by 1. 3 points the same way. Not only at the time of 1. 4, but later, in the days of 2. 1. 1, 13 ff., Horace had to meet criticism of his Sermones. He remembered those days of criticism for many years; see

of external evidence we must examine the poem itself. That his *Sermones* were much criticized is apparent from S. 1. 10. 1 ff., 2. 1. 1 ff., and Epp. 1. 4. 1 (see Wickham ad loc.). The criticisms of Horace had touched (a) the form, (b) the spirit of his *Sermones*. The criticism of the form of his writings he meets smilingly, by a confession of guilt (39-63). The other charge—far more serious—distresses him; to this he devotes much more than half the *Sermo*: with it he begins (1-7), to it he returns (64-143). In verses 1-7 he says in effect, "If you think that aught is wrong with the spirit of my *Sermones*, please note that I got that spirit from Lucilius, and that he in turn owed it to the Old Attic Comedy. What you criticize, then, has the best of lineages, the best of warranties". He begins, then, with spirit, hiding behind the popularity of Lucilius.<sup>1</sup> From matters of spirit he drifts easily and naturally, through his criticism of the carelessness of Lucilius, to the consideration of matters of form (8-63); from this he brings himself back sharply, in 64, to matters of spirit. Here, having felt his way to reasonably firm ground, having won some measure of tolerance, he might hope, by his plea of guilty to the charge that his *Sermones* are not poetry, he proceeds to show that after all the spirit of his *Sermones* is not particularly objectionable. In this piece, then, Horace is a lawyer, with himself as client; with all a lawyer's cleverness he makes out the best possible case for himself.<sup>2</sup> In a word, S. 1. 4 is throughout a piece of special pleading.<sup>3</sup>

Epp. 1. 4. 1, with Wickham's note, and Epp. 2. 2. 60, where *Bioneis sermonibus* is said of the *Sermones* (see Wickham again). Why does Horace in 1. 4. 94, in a piece which can so easily be interpreted as an apologia, cite a verse from 1. 2, a Lucilian satire? Wickham's discussion of S. 2. 1. 34 ff. is pertinent: "I grant you", says Horace, "that I am like Lucilius, but I am also different. Like him, I strike hard on occasion (44-46), but only in self-defence". Pertinent, too, is the name *iambi* used of the Epodes: see Epp. 1. 19. 23 (interpreted in the light of A. P. 79), Epod. 14. 7, Carm. 1. 16, 1-3, 24. On the name *iambi* see Hendrickson, A. J. P. XV 10, 11, 25, 27. For the kinship of the Epodes to the *Sermones*, in time and theme, see Wickham's general Introduction to the Epodes, vol. 1, 326.

<sup>1</sup> For that popularity see above, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> He argues much as Cicero often does, for he says, in effect: (a) Assuming, for the sake of argument, that your criticism of the spirit of my *Sermones* is well taken, what of it? I am merely doing what Lucilius did, etc.; besides, I do not get what I write before the general public. (b) What you say is not so; I am not so very censorious after all.

<sup>3</sup> For one bit of disingenuousness see 70-76. Even on Mr. Hendrickson's theory of S. 1. 4 Horace is here not quite candid: if he is not to recite or to publish, what difference does it make what his theory of satirical writing is?

In S. 1. 10 the situation is different. Some time has elapsed since the publication of 1. 4; in that time Horace's position, social and literary, has become far more secure, and he is at liberty to set forth his real convictions. In 1. 4 he begins by praising the spirit of Lucilius; here he clearly condemns it (1-15). Lucilius always kept his bow taut; he did not know how to employ *ridiculum* as well as the *acre* and the *triste*.<sup>1</sup>

If, now, there is anywhere a conflict in the views expressed by these two Sermones, Horace's true beliefs are likely to appear in 1. 10 rather than in 1. 4. 1. 10 is the later utterance, in the days of his more assured position, when he may speak more unreservedly; in it he begins by criticizing (not praising) the spirit of Lucilius, passing on in 50-63 ff. to a criticism of his form severer even than that in 1. 4. 8 ff. Let us mark now 1. 10. 64-69:

Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,  
comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem  
quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor,  
quamque poetarum seniorum turba: sed ille,  
si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum,  
detereret sibi multa, etc.

Who is the *auctor* of 66? To my mind only one answer has ever been possible:<sup>2</sup> the *auctor* is Lucilius. Seeing that nowhere else in any of his writings does Horace connect the name of Ennius with his Sermones and the department they represent, Ennius cannot be meant here. All through 1. 4 and 2. 1 it is Lucilius, not Ennius, that Horace has in mind; in 1. 10 also, up to 64, Lucilius had been the literary forbear of whom Horace has been

<sup>1</sup>Here I agree, to some extent, with Professor Hendrickson (see his paper, Horace and Lucilius: a Study of Horace S. 1. 10, published in Studies in Honour of B. L. Gildersleeve, 151-168), especially in his interpretation of *sermone tristi*, 11: see pp. 152-153.

<sup>2</sup>I do not think it necessary to enumerate those who have held that *auctor* here means Ennius. They thought of Ennius to get rid of the conflict between 1. 4. 1-6 and 1. 10. 66. Professor Morris, in his note on 66, thinks that neither Ennius nor Lucilius is meant; he translates "I grant, therefore, that he had a certain degree of polish, more, of course than a writer composing some entirely new (rude) kind of poetry, some poetry untouched by the Greeks, would have had . . .". Part of this is negatived by the text above. Further, Hendrickson (Gildersleeve Studies, 139) has clearly shown that Horace did *not* mean, in 64 ff., to grant polish, etc., to Lucilius.



speaking. Further convincing evidence of the meaning of *auctor* appears in 46-51:

hoc erat experto frustra Varrone Atacino  
atque quibusdam aliis melius quod scribere possem,  
inventore minor; neque ego illi detrahere ausim  
haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam.  
At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem  
plura quidem tollenda relinquendis.

With *inventore*, 48, we must supply *eius* or *eius rei*, referring back to *hoc* (satire), 46. *inventore* is picked up by *illi*, 48, and that in turn by *hunc* of 50. Fortunately, the identity of *hunc* in 50 is made absolutely clear by the fact that 50-51 reproduce pretty exactly 1. 4. 11, plainly used of Lucilius.

The *auctor*, then, of 66 is Lucilius, and Lucilius is described in S. 1. 10 as writer of a form of poetry untouched by the Greeks; in 1. 4. 6 we have *Hinc* (i. e. from the writers of the Old Attic Comedy) *omnis pendet Lucilius*. Manifestly S. 1. 4 and S. 1. 10 are not in harmony with each other. In S. 1. 10 Horace has anticipated Quintilian's famous dictum (10. 1. 93) *Satura quidem tota nostra est*. If, as is argued above, 1. 10 gives us Horace's real views, Horace does not belong with those ancient authors who connect Lucilius with the Old Attic Comedy, and an important prop is removed from the theories of Leo and Hendrickson.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Hendrickson realizes that his readers will hesitate to identify the *saturae* of Livy with the Old Comedy, to see in them "an assumed stage of Roman dramatic development corresponding to the old comedy" (12). Accordingly, to reinforce his view, he asks what Livy really says about the *saturae*. That, he an-

<sup>1</sup> If my argument is sound, it has an important bearing on Professor Hendrickson's paper, *Satura—The Genesis of a Literary Form*, Cl. Phil. 6. Because Horace, in speaking of his own writings in S. 1. 4 and 1. 10, uses very vague and general expressions, Professor Hendrickson concluded that the word *Satura* was not yet in use as a designation of a form of literature. My argument above implies that Horace had the best of reasons for avoiding the term *Satura* as a designation of his *Sermones*. The same argument shows why he could without hesitation employ in Book 2—which belongs to a later day, when his position was secure—the term *Satura* of his own writings. Further, if Professor Hendrickson was right in seeing in S. 1. 4 (see page 141, n. 3) a protest by Horace against the current conception of satirical writing, he supplies himself a good reason for Horace's avoidance of the term throughout his first book of *Sermones*. See also Webb, Cl. Phil. 7. 178-181, and above, p. 130, n. 5.

swers, they had (a) some pretensions to form, (b) they were performed by professionals. (b) is right. In § 7 Livy does clearly describe the *saturae* as an advance in form over the Fescennines. In the negative side of his description he says they were *non, sicut ante, Fescennino versu similem incompositum . . . ac rudem*; in the positive part of his description, he emphasizes, as the one new element, a more developed musical form.<sup>1</sup> There is no longer absolute 'Planlosigkeit' in matter; there is a better musical form. But I cannot follow Professor Hendrickson when he declares that the fact that the *saturae* were performed by professionals (*vernaculi artifices*, §§ 6-7) in itself shows "a stage of thoroughly-developed dramatic form". Professionalism and lack of form exist side by side even today, all too often. In the first stage described by Livy—the Tuscan dancer stage—we have professionals, but nothing that either the ancients or ourselves would really call dramatic form. Nor can I agree with Professor Hendrickson that the words *ab risu ac soluto ioco*, § 11, refer back to the *saturae* alone and so serve to characterize them alone further, with a hint, he means, of the *λαμβική ιδέα*. They refer, I am sure, to the Fescennines as well; Livy is looking back over the whole development he has described. But even if the words are restricted to the *saturae*, they do not help Mr. Hendrickson; there is in them no hint of the *λαμβική ιδέα*. See above, page 141.

One other suggestion made by Professor Hendrickson in this connection needs but to be stated to be disregarded. "By *impletas modis*", he says (13), "may well be suggested something of the manifold musical and metrical form of the parabasis". In a footnote he compares Platonius: *ἡ δὲ παράβασις ἐπληροῦτο ὑπὸ μελῳδρίου καὶ κομματίου καὶ στροφῆς καὶ ἀντιστροφῶν κτλ.*

It is difficult enough to see how Mr. Hendrickson could ever have believed that any Roman critic—a Varro or an Accius—could soberly have imagined or have expected any one else to imagine that the *saturae* of Livy were an analogue to the Old Attic Comedy, the marvellous productions of Aristophanes. It is an even severer strain on credulity to suggest that so vague a phrase as *impletae modis* would suggest what Platonius says. Once again Mr. Hendrickson's wonderful verbal memory has played him false: the words of Livy and Platonius agree at just one point: *impletae* and *ἐπληροῦτο* both suggest the idea of fullness.

<sup>1</sup>See Webb, Cl. Phil. 7. 183-184.

The limits of space allotted to this paper are nearly exhausted. I must, therefore, draw these remarks to a close. I have examined some of the more important arguments of the sceptics, and have, I think, shown how weak they are, and how poor has been the foundation on which their elaborate structures have been reared. There has been no room to consider a host of details involved in the comparison of Horace and Livy with each other, and of both with Aristotle. I feel sure that I can show that the same lack of logic, the same straining to make a point, the same bending of simple passages to suit a preconceived theory marks the detailed discussion of individual paragraphs and verses which we have noted in our discussion above of the broad general doctrines on which the sceptics sought to base their case. I can prove, I feel sure, that the article by which Professor Hendrickson, in A. J. P. XIX, claims to differentiate the views of Accius concerning the chronology of early Latin literature from those of Varro is without basis of any sort in fact, and that therefore this paper too is of no value, so far, at least, as its main contention is concerned.

I shall conclude the present paper with a brief discussion of Schanz's views of the dramatic *satura*. In his second edition he had been but little influenced by the views of the sceptics. In his third edition (1907), in § 9, pages 21-22, he adopts a curious compromise. He believes firmly in early native forms of the drama among the Romans. At Rome, as elsewhere, he says, the beginnings of the drama are connected with "die Festfreude". In Horace Epp. 2. 1. 139 ff. we get, he maintains, a definite name "für ein dramatisches element", i. e. *Fescennina licentia*. "Dass diese 'fescenninische Augelassenheit' uns den Anfang des italischen Dramas darstellt, kann nicht bezweifelt werden; auch die gelehrte Forschung des Altertums verkannte das nicht wie ein ätiologischer Bericht bei Livius zeigt". He then takes up Livy's narrative, which, he says, raises doubts. It is impossible that song and dance "erst später hinzukamen" . . . "Auch der Name *satura* ist höchst wahrscheinlich von dem Forscher, dem Livius seinen Bericht verdankt, zur Bezeichnung des improvisierten Spiels, das keinen Namen hatte, gestempelt worden". It should be remarked at once that Livy does not at all represent the *saturae* as improvisations: see § 7, and above, page 145.

On page 22, going into details, he declares that Livy's narrative shows plainly that "uns eine konstruierte Geschichte des röm-

ischen Dramas vorliegt", which seeks to set up a connection (Zusammenhang) that did not in fact exist. So quite wrongly, Livius Andronicus, who translated Greek comedies into Latin, is described as the "Fortsetzer einer volksmässigen Posse". I do not believe that Livy so pictures the rôle played by Livius Andronicus. Unfortunately the words *ab saturis* (§ 8) used of Andronicus are none too clear, but there is nothing in Livy's words to forbid the interpretation that Andronicus turned his back on the *saturae*, and essayed something quite different.<sup>1</sup> Livy does not, indeed, call Livius Andronicus a Greek; nor does every other Latin writer in referring to Livius Andronicus think it necessary to call him a Greek;<sup>2</sup> his Greek origin was perfectly well known, being perpetually brought to mind by his very name.

Let us return to Schanz. "Gewiss hat es in Rom vor Einführung der kunstmässigen griechischen Komödie durch Livius Andronicus eine volksmässige Posse gegeben, die wahrscheinlich als eine Fortsetzung der Fescenninen anzusehen ist. Allein diese volksmässige Posse dürfte kaum einen Namen gehabt haben". Why? one may ask. But, continues Schanz, the scholar who put together ("konstruierte") Livy's narrative wanted to give this "Volksmässige Posse" a name. He found the development from the popular pre-Andronican drama to Andronicus's play in this, that in the latter "ein Stoff planvoll durchgeführt war, während die volksmässige Posse Planlosigkeit und Durcheinander darbot"; hence, in looking for a name, he thought of the word *satura*, which was in ordinary use "um die mannigfachen Gaben der Opferschale und die heterogenen Bestandteile eines Gesetzes (*satura lanx*, *satura lex*) zu bezeichnen". His last words are: "Ausser unserer Stelle wird an keiner anderen die volksmässige Posse vor Livius *satura* benannt. Es dürfte daher geraten sein, aus der Litteraturgeschichte die dramatische Satura zu verbannen und nur von Fescenninen und volksmässige Posse zu sprechen".

Here is a most extraordinary jumble! Livy's account is held to set forth the essential truth, and yet is described as "konstruierte" by some combinierende Gelehrte! Livy's narrative is

<sup>1</sup> Some one, I think, has inserted *aversus* after *ab saturis*; I cannot, however, give the proper reference.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot follow Leo 39. 69 when he says "Livy schaltet das Griechische aus . . . Es ist möglich dass Livius selber das griechische Element verschleiern wollte".

accepted as true, virtually, in everything save in one detail—the name he gives to the something that lay between the Fescennines and the plays with plot written by Andronicus. How could one who believed—whether he realized it or not—all else in Livy's account balk over so insignificant a detail as the name *satura*? Further, why should one accept without hesitation the phrases *satura lanx*, *satura lex*, nowhere attested in a literary passage,<sup>1</sup> but vouched for only by grammarians and lexicographers, and yet reject the testimony of Livy,<sup>2</sup> a far better and earlier authority, to a mere name? However, all this is a mere *σκιμαχία*. I am not interested in the names borne by the forms of the early Roman drama; I rejoice that Schanz still believes in the existence of such forms prior to the time of Livius Andronicus.

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<sup>1</sup> See Funck, *Archiv.* 5. 38.

<sup>2</sup> See Webb's ingenious argument, *Cl. Phil.* 7. 182-185.



## II.—HORACE AND TIBULLUS.

### I. CARM. I. 33 AND EPIST. I. 4.

Albi, ne doleas plus nimio memor  
immitis Glycerae, neu miserabiles  
decantes elegos, cur tibi iunior  
laesa praeniteat fide.

Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex,  
quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?  
Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat,  
An tacitum silvas inter reptare salubris,  
curantem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque est?  
Non tu corpus eras sine pectore: di tibi formam,  
di tibi divitias dederunt artemque fruendi.  
Quid voveat dulci nutricula maius alumno,  
qui sapere et fari possit quae sentiat, et cui  
gratia, fama, valetudo contingat abunde,  
et mundus victus non deficiente crumena?  
Inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras  
omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum:  
grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora.  
Me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises,  
cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum.

Horace addresses two of his poems, Odes I. 33 and Epistles I. 4, to a certain Albius, who is generally identified with the well-known elegiac poet, Tibullus. But over a generation ago this identification was challenged by Baehrens,<sup>1</sup> whose views were combated with more or less success by some scholars, but for the most part merely ignored.<sup>2</sup> They found, however, a very clever defender some years ago in the person of J. P. Postgate, the well-known English scholar.<sup>3</sup> So far as I know, Postgate's presenta-

<sup>1</sup> Emil Baehrens, *Tibullische Blätter*, 1876, p. 7 ff. Baehrens' idea is not new; Cruquius rejected the identification on the assumption that Tibullus was born in 43 B. C. (the year of the birth of Lygdamus who, in Cruquius' time, was supposed to be Tibullus) and thus could not have been a critic of Horace's Satires (Epist. I. 4. 1).

<sup>2</sup> See, however, Sellar, *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*, 1892, p. 225 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Selections from Tibullus*, 1903, p. 179.

tion of the facts as he saw them has never been answered. His arguments are very plausible, and therefore worth answering, but I should not attempt to do so if it were not necessary in order to clear the way for a detailed and partially new interpretation of the epistle that Horace addressed to Albius.

Postgate attempts to explain away all of the evidence that Albius was the *nomen* of the poet Tibullus. Such a course is made possible by the fact that no evidence for the *nomen* is furnished either by Tibullus or contemporary writers. The main sources are Porphyrio and Diomedes of the third or fourth century and a biography of Tibullus found in the Tibullian MSS.<sup>1</sup> This biography has been thought to be an abridgment of the one which Suetonius probably wrote in his "De Viris Illustribus". For the sake of the argument Postgate admits that Suetonius is the ultimate source of this life, and this surprising generosity rather takes one off one's guard. But his generosity is not altruistic. He argues that Suetonius may have known no more about Tibullus than we do; that in fact no more material for a biography may have existed in his day than at present. Surely this is going to extremes; judging from the Lives of Suetonius that are extant, he did have a considerable amount of material at hand which is not accessible to us. If historians were to use Postgate's method our histories would be very much attenuated. He arranges his argument very ingeniously: "I grant you", he implies, "that the Vita goes back to Suetonius, and since Suetonius lived so much earlier than Diomedes and Porphyrio, we can ignore the latter two; but there is nothing in the Vita which anybody at all could not find out from the extant poems of Tibullus and Horace themselves, or from an extant four line epitaph of Tibullus! Therefore", runs his argument, "Suetonius used only these sources, invented the identification of Albius with Tibullus, and thus there is no value in the evidence of the Vita—old as it is in origin—in favor of the *nomen* Albius for Tibullus". Surely we must protest against the ignoring of Diomedes and Porphyrio, and must ask why Suetonius should have identified

<sup>1</sup> In addition there are the MSS. of Tibullus (none earlier than the 14th century) and of Horace, with their titles. The Horatian titles, however, are believed to go back to Porphyrio's text (Vollmer, *Philologus*, Suppl. X, 1905, p. 315 n. 126). Porphyrio, Diomedes and the MSS. of Horace identify the Albius of Horace with the poet Tibullus.

Tibullus with Albius if they were as unlike as Postgate then sets out to show that they were.

The real arguments against the identification of Albius and Tibullus are internal. Horace says that Albius is blessed with material wealth; Tibullus constantly complains of being poor. But there is nothing inconsistent here; poverty and riches were relative terms then as now. Much of Tibullus' ancestral wealth had been lost, through no fault of his, as is apparent from his own words, and by contrast with the wealth of his fathers he felt himself poor.<sup>1</sup> Then, again, it was the proper thing for an elegiac poet to plead poverty. The statements indicative of poverty that seem least conventional are all in the first elegy of the first book—possibly showing that Tibullus' fortunes improved, perhaps with the help of Messalla.

Another point urged against the identification is the apparent comparison of Albius with an unimportant poet, Cassius Parmensis. Postgate sums up thus: "Would the author of the first book of the *Epistles* have publicly asked the poet of Delia and Nemesis if he was engaged upon something that would surpass the minor productions of this Cassius Parmensis? If so, he would have told the late poet laureate at the end of his life that he might write something to excel the minor productions of Mr. Andrew Lang". This point, such as it is, will be considered a little later.

The argument that has seemed strongest in favor of Baehrens' and Postgate's theory is that Horace, in *Carm.* I. 33, speaks of a *Glycera* as the beloved of Albius, though no such name is mentioned by Tibullus. Since everyone agrees that the Albius of the Ode is the same as the Albius of the *Epistle*, the battle has raged largely around this name. Some have held that *Glycera* is a pseudonym for Delia or Nemesis, the girls to whom many of Tibullus' elegies are addressed; by others, as Postgate puts it, "a third mistress and a third series of love elegies have to be invented and fitted in where best they can, and ill enough at that", while others, as Baehrens and Postgate, have denied the identification of Albius with Tibullus.<sup>2</sup> The second explana-

<sup>1</sup> See below, part II, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> It is with some diffidence that I venture to express an opinion on this well-worn theme. For the lengthy literature see Cartault, *Apropos du Corpus Tibullianum*, 1906.

tion is that of the literal-minded, and such can never appreciate Horace. They maintain either that the book of Glycera elegies is entirely lost, or that nothing remains of it but the two supposedly Tibullian poems, IV, 13 and 14 of the Corpus Tibullianum, though the name Glycera is not found in them. If it is necessary to accept this theory, I fail to see how one can avoid accepting the companion-theory that the girl casually mentioned in the same Ode by the type-name Pholoe is one and the same as the Pholoe once mentioned by Tibullus. This theory, actually proposed in all seriousness by early scholars, is now of course considered absurd.

It seems to me that the true explanation is that Horace has Nemesis in mind when he uses the name Glycera. I should not insist, however, on the point that Glycerae is the metrical equivalent of Nemesis in Horace's line, though this may have been a factor. The probable date of the Ode (see below) makes for the identification with Nemesis rather than with Delia. Horace's words, too, apply better to Nemesis, judging from Tibullus' description.<sup>1</sup> No sufficient reasons have ever been given for Horace's use of the pseudonym Glycera. Postgate justly criticizes Sellar's explanation that the name is chosen for the sake of the oxymoron—a favorite Horatian figure. Rather, *immitis* is chosen to produce oxymoron with Glycera.

We must find the true explanation elsewhere. No name perhaps had a more definite connotation to a Greek or Roman than the name Glycera. It was one of the most common names of *hetaerae*, and Horace might just as well have used the common noun *meretrix*, except that it would be less refined and romantic. Horace himself uses the name a number of times for no particular individual, but for the class. Glycera is, therefore, hardly a proper noun at all. Its use corresponds to that of Gaia, commonly used as a synonym for *mulier*. Similar instances are common in all languages; cf. Jezebel (in French *Mégère*), Jehu, etc. Now the use of such a name by Horace gives a deeper meaning to the passage. It does not mean merely: "Albius, do not grieve overmuch when you think of the bitter-sweet Glycera", but has the added force: "for she is only a *meretrix* after all". Horace does not deign to honor Nemesis by calling her Nemesis.

<sup>1</sup> It is to be remembered throughout that it makes no difference for our purpose whether Tibullus' love adventures are real or not; Horace may be thinking of Tibullus as the elegiac poet or as the man.

Horace goes on to say: "Do not drone out your pitiful elegies just because she has broken her word and a younger man outshines you in her favor". Some difficulty has been found in reconciling this with the fact that Tibullus does not complain of a younger but of a richer rival. The explanation that Horace is inexact because exactness is not necessary is sufficient, but another may be suggested. *Iunior* may have been deliberately chosen instead of *ditior* as another humorous dig like the use of *Glycera*—for with women of that sort a young rival was not to be feared so much as an extravagant one, especially since Tibullus could scarcely have been much more than thirty years old at the time, and may have been considerably younger. The juxtaposition of *tibi* and *iunior* would heighten the point of the jest.<sup>1</sup>

We now come to the 4th Epistle of the 1st book. In analyzing this poem we will see further objections to the theory that Albius and Tibullus are not the same. Our lack of knowledge concerning the circumstances has made this a difficult poem to interpret. It is necessary to approach it from the point of view of the student of Tibullus and yet consider it from the Horatian standpoint as well.<sup>2</sup> It was probably written between 23 and 20 B. C. Some editors have held that it was written before the Odes were published in 23, because they are not mentioned in verse 1 as having come under the critical eye of Albius, but there is no point to this argument at all, for by the same token it might be argued that it was written before the Epodes were published,

<sup>1</sup> In this Ode Horace is perhaps hinting to Tibullus to abandon elegiac poetry and to take up a form more suited to singing the praises and furthering the policy of Augustus. In the Ode immediately preceding, Horace calls upon his lyre to sing a "Latin" song, i. e., one concerning Roman affairs, and in *Carm.* II. 9. 19 openly asks Valgius to write about Augustus (note the tactful use of the first person *cantemus*). See also below, on *Epist.* I. 4 (p. 158, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> A detailed interpretation of the poem was given by Cartault (*Horace et Tibulle*, *Rev. de phil.* 30, 1906, p. 210) which hardly does that student of Tibullus and Horace justice. He misses the spirit of the Epistles altogether, thinking that Horace is making fun of philosophy and tragedy and is urging Tibullus to go back to his gay life of woman and song at Rome. Cartault expresses the same ideas, somewhat modified and curtailed, in his edition of Tibullus (1909) p. 26 f. The interpretation, it seems to me, needs no refutation. I would merely call attention to the fact that the mention of the *nutricula* in vs. 8 is entirely out of harmony with Cartault's interpretation.



which is impossible.<sup>1</sup> Tibullus may have been one of the *com-pluris alios*—scholars and friends—whom Horace says, in the 10th Satire of the 1st book, that he purposely passes over, after mentioning by name the men whose approval he seeks.<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting that the term *candidus* is at various times applied by Horace to five of the men appearing in this list, Maecenas, Virgil, Plotius, Varius and Furnius,<sup>3</sup> and that the only other time it occurs in the same sense it is used of Tibullus. It seems to be reserved by Horace for those who approved of the Satires. That Tibullus is not mentioned by name in the 10th Satire is not surprising; he must have been a very young man at the time. If this be accepted we must either put the date of Tibullus' birth as early as 54 or 55 (on the other hand, it could not have been much earlier; see below p. 164, n. 2), or else that of the Satire considerably later than 35, the commonly accepted date. The latter alternative seems impossible.

My conception of the situation at the time of the Epistle is this: Tibullus' love-affair with Nemesis was not turning out well, as we see from his poems; after the final break came, Horace comforted him with the Ode we have discussed (*memor* in verse 1 shows that it is all off). This may have been as late as 23 B. C., when the Odes were published. Matters went from bad to worse; Tibullus retires to the country, to the scenes of his childhood, to try to forget his unsweet sweetheart and his other troubles, but he cannot shake off his melancholy; his friends at Rome become alarmed, and Horace, one of the most tactful men that ever lived, writes to his young friend the Epistle before us, with the intention of cheering him and diverting his thoughts.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Neither the Odes nor the Epodes are mentioned because only the Satires had been attacked by the critics, and only they defended by Tibullus. See also below, p. 167, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For evidence in favor of this supposition, see below, part III, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Epod. 14, 5; Serm. I. 5. 40-41, I. 10. 86.

<sup>4</sup> This description is perhaps too romantic. I see no reason however for believing that Tibullus' love affairs were entirely fictitious, unromantic as they may have been. Indeed he would have been a strange Roman if they had been. It is true that Jacoby makes the extraordinary statement (Rhein. Mus. 65, 1910, p. 68) that Tibullus' poetry proves that he had no liaisons with women; that, in fact, he was not interested in erotic elegy but in bucolic poetry, and that he spoiled his poetry by dragging in erotic passages in order to satisfy the demands of the genus elegy. But why in the world did Tibullus pick out such a genus to work in? And why could he not adapt the

Horace establishes himself, so to speak, by calling to mind that he and Tibullus are connected by the bond of literary friendship—*candide iudex*; this gives Horace the right to speak about Tibullus' affairs. At the same time the phrase puts the two into the position of two friends on a par, and the words which follow will not seem like the admonitions of an older man, given only to be ignored. Horace achieves a similar result in the 8th epistle by admitting his own failings. The right to quiz Tibullus he assumes in verse 2, by asking him what he is doing—yet he does not ask it directly, bluntly, but with fine tact and delicacy—not "What are you doing now in the *regio Pedana*"? but, "What shall I say that you are doing now in the *regio Pedana*"? Horace suggests the answer himself: "Shall I say that you are writing, etc. (verse 3), or wandering, etc. (verses 4 and 5)"? Notice that the second suggestion receives two lines, and the first only one line. They are not two evenly matched suggestions, but the second is the one really meant, as is often the case with the second member of a double question connected by *an*. But what is the purpose and meaning of verse 3? This has been much discussed. Cassius Parmensis is an obscure poet, and it has been urged that it would be no great compliment to Tibullus to be compared to him, and that, therefore, Albius is not Tibullus; but I fail to see why the comparison would be any more complimentary to an Albius who was not Tibullus but a rich literary amateur—as Postgate puts it—at least from Albius' point of view.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the comparison would surely give offense to an amateur, while a real poet with an established reputation would

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elegy to his own purposes? Jacoby does not sufficiently meet these objections. Nor do I agree with the analysis—keen and valuable as it often is in details—which leads him to these conclusions. To return to Tibullus, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he had some unpleasant experiences which increased an already existing tendency towards morbid introspection. A middle ground, something like that which Schanz takes (*Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* § 279.2), seems to me the safest in the dispute between those who accept every word that Tibullus says of himself and his sweethearts as historical fact, and those who hold that everything is convention. Furthermore, as far as we are at present concerned, it makes little difference, for Horace may have chosen in this Epistle, as in the Ode, to adopt the romantic, but fictitious, (if it is fictitious) attitude of Tibullus. This should be remembered throughout the following discussion.

<sup>1</sup> To be sure, Tibullus himself has been called a dilettante (Jacoby, in *Rhein. Mus.* 65, 1910, p. 72).

laugh at it. We know very little about Cassius Parmensis as a literary man. The Scholiasts seem to have drawn their information largely from the text of Horace. The word *opuscula* may be belittling, as it is in the only other place where it is used by Horace (Epist. I. 19. 35), in speaking of his own poems.<sup>1</sup> We need not infer from Horace's words that Cassius was a writer of elegies, especially not that he was a prominent writer of elegies; we can leave that to the literal-minded again. Horace is having a little joke at Tibullus' expense, though the joke has a purpose, to make Tibullus smile and to put him in a cheerful mood for the rest of the letter.

Do verses 4 and 5, then, represent what Horace thought Tibullus was doing? Was Tibullus a philosopher (i. e. a practical philosopher)—for that is what the *sapiens bonusque* was, cf. Epist. I. 7. 22, I. 16. 20, 73?<sup>2</sup> As there is nothing to indicate that he was, and much to indicate that he was not, some have thought that here, too, we have an argument against the Albius-Tibullus identification. But the true explanation is that Horace is here tactfully hinting to Tibullus that philosophy is his only cure.<sup>3</sup> The hint is so delicate that it has escaped many editors, but a comparison with other Epistles makes this interpretation certain. After the first dedicatory Epistle, the second, third, fourth, and probably the fifth and sixth, are all letters to younger men. In all of them Horace manages to introduce the thought that the philosopher's life is the best. In several of the letters Horace tactfully meets a delicate situation; the seventh Epistle, in which he openly declares to Maecenas his independence and his intention to do exactly as he pleases, and yet gives no offense, is a good example; another is the third, where he settles a quarrel between two young men in masterly fashion. In the same letter he suggests to Florus, by means of a contrary-to-fact condition, that he become a philosopher: "If you only could abandon these cold-compresses of care you would be going where heavenly philosophy leads". These and the two following lines are the only ones in the whole Epistle of 36 lines in which Horace's philosophy of life—the dominant theme of the first book of the Epistles—is touched upon. Now is not that the way verses 4 and 5 of the

<sup>1</sup> See below, part IV, p. 166, where additional light on the interpretation of verses 1-3 is given.

<sup>2</sup> *Curo* also is technical, cf. Epist. I. 1. 11.

<sup>3</sup> See also Kettner, *Die Episteln des Horaz*, *ad loc.*

fourth Epistle are to be taken? Horace means that it would be wise for Tibullus to turn philosopher; thus he could overcome his troubles. Verse 4 shows what is the matter with Tibullus; *tacitum* shows that he is brooding, melancholy; *reptare* suggests the dragging steps of a dejected individual; *salubris* cannot be an idle epithet, for that is not in Horace's style; it suggests that Tibullus was looking for *salubritas*—but *valetudo* in verse 10 shows that physical health is not meant. It must be mental health. Tibullus himself speaks of *salubribus herbis* (II. 3. 13) as an attempted cure for love, and the word is common in that sense.<sup>1</sup>

Now we come to verse 6. Here the connection of thought is rather obscure, and, therefore, all the more important. Horace leaves it to us to fill in the gaps, and, because he so often does so, the Satires and Epistles are not always easy reading. "You are fully capable of becoming a philosopher", implies Horace, saying: "(for) you did not use to be a mere body without a mind and soul."<sup>2</sup> (It is true that) the gods gave you beauty and riches, (but they also) gave you the art of enjoying them properly". Unless we take verse 5 as a hint in the way I have suggested I can see no plausible connection between it and verse 6. Others have called attention to the contrast between the tense of *eras*, in verse 6, and the *nunc* of verse 2. *Nunc* contrasts also with verse 1, and the whole passage means that Tibullus was getting the greatest possible enjoyment out of life when he was a very young man, as Horace knew, but that he was interested in other things as well, such as literature, so much so that he passed judgment on Horace's Satires, not to mention writing verse himself. Verses 8-11 are an amplification of verses 5-7. But why is the nurse mentioned? The diminutive is evidently one of affection. From our point of view a reference to his mother would have been more in place, but the indispensable nurse played a very important part in Roman home life, as she still very often does in some European countries. "In Latin literature are many passages that testify to the affection felt for each other by nurse and child, an affection that lasted on into manhood and womanhood".<sup>3</sup> The reason for the mention is obvious if our interpretation of the poem as a

<sup>1</sup> Pichon, de sermone amatorio apud lat. elegiarum scriptores, 1902, s. v.

<sup>2</sup> For the force of *eras*, see Wickham's note, though he misses the point in verses 4 and 5.

<sup>3</sup> Johnston, The Private Life of the Romans, p. 71. Cf. e. g. Pers. 2. 39 and Sen. Ep. 60. 1.

whole is accepted. Just as in verse 5 Horace suggests philosophy to Tibullus as a means of dispelling his melancholy, so in verse 8 he strives for the same result by delicately calling to mind tender memories of his childhood days in a manner displaying wonderful tact and good taste, especially, if, as I believe to be the case, Tibullus is at the time living in the country home of his childhood, a home of which he never tires of speaking in his elegies.

In verse 9 *sapere* again hints at philosophy as a care dispeller: "One who has it *in his power* to be a philosopher and to put into words what he feels", with the implication that Tibullus is not making use of these powers. The second book of his elegies is unusually short, and may be incomplete, suggesting that he gave up his writing after his troubles (whether love troubles, or melancholia, or both) began.<sup>1</sup> Besides that, he has influential friends (*gratia*), a good name (*fama*), good physical health (*valetudo*), and a comfortable income. *Sapere* and *fari* are put first, as indicating the things that Horace considers of most importance, and are separated from the rest.

In verse 12 again the connection of thought is difficult and important. Verses 12-14 can mean nothing unless a consolation is intended, and the consolation must suit the poem as a whole. The four emotions in verse 12 are not chosen to typify "the ordinary experiences of life", as it has been put, but are meant to apply rather to Tibullus' state of mind.<sup>2</sup> These emotions are arranged in pairs, the separation of the pairs being indicated not merely by the use of *inter* with each, but also by the use of the singular in the first pair and the plural in the second. We are justified, therefore, in looking for a resemblance between the members of each pair. No other resemblance seems possible except that the first pair are pleasant feelings and the second unpleasant. Furthermore there seems to be a relation between the first and third, and the second and fourth words. Thus we can determine the meaning of *cura*, the only word whose meaning is doubtful. The only meaning that *cura* can have here, classed as it is with the pleasant word *spem*, is love. This is a common meaning in

<sup>1</sup> It looks as if Horace were trying to get Tibullus to follow the lead of himself and Virgil and become an exponent of the emperor's policy of improving the morals, etc., of the people. See above on Carm. I. 33 (p. 153, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> For the emotions typifying the ordinary experiences of life, see the quotations from Horace and Virgil just below.



Catullus, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid. Especially interesting is its use in Epist. I. 3. 30, on which Kiessling's note is to the point, and in Tibullus II. 3. 13, the very line which was quoted above for the use of *salubribus herbis*. *Spem* and *timores* are akin in that they both look to the future.<sup>1</sup> So *curam* and *iras* are alike in dealing with the present. Of course this is the secondary balance; the primary one being between the pairs. Such balances are not uncommon, e. g. Epist. I. 6. 12: *Gaudeat an doleat, cupiat metuatne, quid ad rem*.<sup>2</sup> The first pair deals with the present; the second with the future. Besides, *gaudeat* and *cupiat* are contrasted with *doleat* and *metuat*, the pleasant with the unpleasant. In this example the primary balance is between the time-spheres; in the fourth Epistle between the pleasant and unpleasant.

The use of *spes*, referring to love, is common, and the word in this sense is often contrasted with *timor*.<sup>3</sup> The idea of anger contrasted with love is seen in Carm. I. 16. 25 ff., in which Horace retracts his anger if love is allowed to take its place. In the elegiac poets *ira* is often the result of troubles in love.<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that Horace is using throughout this line the technical language of elegy.

In the midst, then, of these feelings brought on by his love affair Tibullus should remember, says Horace, what a precious boon mere life is, and should count every added hour a special gift of heaven.

The last two lines are humorous, as is generally recognized. The tact of *vires* should be noted: "You will come to visit me"—but in effect it is a command, though tempered by the following clause. The future is used thus in Epist. I. 13. 2, 10, 12 and I. 17. 12. A similar effect of quiet authority is attained by a different device in Epist. I. 3. 36.

<sup>1</sup> *Spes* and *res* (future and present) are often contrasted (e. g. Cic. Att. 3. 22. 4); so also *spes* and *opes* (e. g. Cic. Cat. 3. 7).

<sup>2</sup> See note in Kiessling, ed. 3 (not ed. 4). Cf. Virgil, Aen. 6. 733, *Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque*. The context shows that these are the typical emotions of life.

<sup>3</sup> Tib. II. 6. 20. Cf. Pichon, op. cit.: *Saepius sperare est confidere aut se amatum iri aut amantem rediturum, et ita spes timori frequenter opponitur*.

<sup>4</sup> E. g. Tib. I. 6. 58 *tua mater me movet atque iras aurea vincit anus*; Prop. I. 18. 14; cf. Pichon, op. cit.

The jesting close, in which Horace humbles himself to the station of a pig, is intended to leave Tibullus in a more cheerful mood, and especially to bring Horace himself down to or below the level at which Tibullus imagines himself to be—Tibullus always modest and retiring, and now especially lowly in spirit. It should be noted that at the beginning Horace ingratiates himself by putting himself on a level with Tibullus, and by a jest, and that after his serious words are done he finishes in the same manner. We may imagine for ourselves the pathetic smile on Tibullus' lips. The poem is wonderfully sympathetic and shows Horace at his best. Perhaps we may now say that it is the most charming Epistle of them all.

As has been said, it may have been written as late as 20 B. C.; since Tibullus died in 19, or very soon after, it may well be that the melancholia ended in death.

## II. THE ALBIUS OF HORACE, SERM. I. 4.<sup>1</sup>

It is generally assumed that the diminution of Tibullus' property of which he complains in the first elegy was due to confiscation during or after the Civil Wars. Cartault (Tibulle, 1909, p. 8) makes the suggestion, only to reject it, that Tibullus' father squandered the estate. But this theory deserves some consideration. In Serm. I. 4. 28 Horace mentions an Albius who has a craze for bronze-collecting (*stupet Albius aere*), and again in verse 109 of the same Satire, in giving an example of his own father's method of teaching morals,—quoting him thus: *Nonne vides Albi ut male vivat filius utque Baius inops? Magnum documentum ne patriam rem perdere quis velit*. It is not at all likely that Horace means to be taken literally in this passage, and that those who are mentioned are actually the ones pointed out by his father. They are rather Horace's own stock of examples, taken from real life.<sup>2</sup> It is likely, however, that Albius was dead

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> It is usually assumed that the father Albius in verse 109 is the same as the bronze collector in verse 28, but it is suggested in Kiessling-Heinze (ed. 4. 1910) that *Albi filius* is the collector and that the phrase *Albi filius* is used because Horace's father would be more familiar with the older man. This is untenable, not only because the same ought to be true of the other men mentioned in the passage, but because Horace would scarcely speak of Albius' craze for bronzes in the same Satire in which he cites his own father as pointing out, ten or more years before, how the same Albius had squandered his money.

when the Satire was written (about 39 B. C.), judging from Horace's custom in satirizing (Serm. II. 1. 39. f.). It seems to me quite probable that this Albius was the father of Tibullus, and that Tibullus was the *Albi filius* who "male vivat" (in a material sense, on account of his father's extravagance). This would fit in well with the probable date of Tibullus' birth (see above, p. 154, and below, p. 164, n. 2), for he would have been about sixteen at the time of the Satire. Tibullus says not a word about his father, though he speaks of his mother and sister. It is altogether likely that the father died when Tibullus was very young. If this be true, it is barely possible that there is added point to Hor. Epist. I. 4. 6-7, the son being contrasted with the father (see above, p. 157). There would also be added significance and pathos, perhaps, in some of Tibullus' expressions: (I. 1. 38-41)—*ficilia—pocula de facili composuitque luto, non ego divitias patrum fructusque requiro.* (I. 10. 8) *faginus scyphus.* (I. 10. 17, 20) *e stipile—ligneus deus.* (II. 3. 47, 48) *mihi—Samiae—testae fictaque Cumana lubrica terra rota.* The fact that he had such a father and that he lost even him when he was a mere boy may partly account for his later melancholia.

### III. HORACE, SERM. I. 10 AND THE CIRCLE OF MESSALLA.

In the tenth Satire of the first book Horace defends his Satires against the critics, and concludes with a list of the men whose approval he seeks. The arrangement of names in this list is a matter of interest, for it is by no means haphazard. We have here the three great literary patrons of the age, Maecenas, Pollio

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The temporal inversion would be too striking. Morris (Satires) thinks that the bronze-collector could not be the father mentioned in verse 109 (he does not consider the possibility just refuted). If the two are identical, then the bronze craze of course resulted in poverty and the son was blameless, as Morris tacitly assumes when he says: "The point of the illustration would be spoiled if the father had wasted the property; *Albi filius* is the spendthrift son of a prosperous father, and so an excellent illustration of the conduct which Horace's prosperous father wished his own son to avoid." But Horace's father may mean that Horace should be careful of his inherited (*patriam*) estate lest his children should suffer. The use of the same name in the same poem for two entirely different individuals seems to me very unlikely. Besides, the use of *Albi filius* instead of the son's name would seem to indicate that it is the father who is to blame. The identification of the two Albii seems, therefore, to be less open to objection than any other hypothesis.

and Messalla, and the members of their circles.<sup>1</sup> Maecenas' circle, the most important and the one to which Horace belonged, is mentioned first. With Maecenas' name is linked that of his greatest protégé, Virgil. Plotius and Varius, as usual, are together; it is well known that they belonged to the circle of Maecenas.<sup>2</sup> Valgius' connections have been unknown, but it has been assumed that he belonged to the circle of Messalla.<sup>3</sup> The reason for the assumption is weak: because he is mentioned by the author of the *Panegyricus Messallae* in *Tib. IV. 1. 180* as a suitable person to sing the praises of Messalla. Horace (*Carm. II. 9. 19*) tells Valgius to sing the praises of Augustus, and, as Schanz elsewhere says (p. 211), this means that Valgius' talent for epic poetry was recognized in the circle of Maecenas. Thus the evidence for Valgius' membership in the circle of Maecenas balances that in favor of the circle of Messalla, and the evidence of Horace's *Satire* should decide in favor of the former.<sup>4</sup> Horace next mentions Octavius, who is generally agreed to be Octavius Musa, a compatriot and fellow-student of Virgil's; he is addressed very affectionately in two poems of the *Catalepton*, very probably written by Virgil.<sup>5</sup> He may well have been a member of the circle of Maecenas. Of Fuscus we know only that he was a good friend of Horace. The brothers Visci are mentioned next; all we know of them is that one of them is mentioned twice more by Horace; in *Serm. I. 9. 22*, his name is coupled with that of Varius, and in *Serm. II. 8. 20*, he or his brother reclines next to Varius at a dinner party at which Maecenas is the chief guest. According to the *Scholia*, their father was a friend of Augustus. It certainly looks as if they belonged to the charmed circle of Maecenas.

<sup>1</sup> This arrangement is hinted at by Teuffel, but he omits details and substantiation: Teuffel-Schwabe (1890) and Teuffel-Kroll (1909), *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* sect. 219. In Kiessling-Heinze (ed. 4), the men mentioned in verses 81-83 are recognized as members of the circle of Maecenas, but the rest are classed together as members of the higher aristocracy.

<sup>2</sup> Plotius, Varius and Virgil are mentioned together in *Serm. I. 5. 40*. Maecenas also appears in this *Satire* (the *Journey to Brundisium*).

<sup>3</sup> Schanz, II. 1 (1911), p. 22, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Teuffel-Schwabe and Teuffel-Kroll, 241. 1, infer from this passage that Valgius was a member of the circle of Maecenas, but say nothing of those mentioned next.

<sup>5</sup> The whole collection is coming more and more to be considered Virgilian. Cf. Schanz, *op. cit.*, p. 105; also Dewitt's review of Birt, *A. J. P.* 32 (1911), 448.

Then Horace separates the next name by a whole verse from the ones just mentioned: *Ambitione relegata te dicere possum*, and comes to Pollio, who was apparently a circle by himself at this time—seemingly a rather crusty critic who found so much fault with other persons' writings that he was largely left to patronize himself. Messalla is next. The language of the rest of the passage should be noted: "Messalla, along with (*cum*) your brother, and at the same time (*simul*) you, Bibulus and Servius, and, together with these (*simul his*), you fair-minded Furnius, (and) several others, scholars and friends whom I intentionally pass over". The use of *cum*, *simul*, and *simul his* shows that these names are to be taken together, i. e., we have here the chief members of the circle of Messalla in 35 B. C. Messalla's brother, Gellius Publicola, of course is a member. Bibulus was a stepson of Brutus, and as such was brought into close contact with Messalla, one of the men on whom Brutus depended most. Is it not also significant that Bibulus was pardoned by Augustus at the same time Messalla was?<sup>1</sup> Servius is generally thought to be Servius Sulpicius Rufus, a son (or, as some think, a grandson)<sup>2</sup> of the orator of the same name famous in Cicero's day. Now Servius II married a sister of Messalla, and their daughter was Sulpicia, the poetess whose charming elegies are found in the *Corpus Tibullianum*, and who became later a prominent member of the circle of Messalla. In other words, the Servius of Horace is either the brother-in-law or nephew of Messalla, and is either the father or brother of Sulpicia. A further connection may exist in that Messalla's brother, just mentioned, was perhaps a pupil of Servius I.<sup>3</sup> Next Horace mentions Furnius: Now Hieronymus (who excerpted Suetonius, *De Viris Illustribus*) says under the year 36 B. C.: *Furnii pater et filius clari oratores habentur: quorum filius consularis ante patrem moritur*. There seems to be no particular point in mentioning these men for the year 36 (for the son did not die that year). But it should be noticed that one of the consuls for the year was Messalla's brother, Gellius Publicola. It may be that Suetonius spoke of the Furnii in connection with Publicola. However, their mention may be due to the fact that in this year Sextus Pompey was defeated by a

<sup>1</sup> Appian, B. C. IV. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Schanz, p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> If the corrupt reading Publicius Gellius in Pompon. dig. 1. 2. 2. 44 is emended to Publicola Gellius, as Hotomann suggested (see Smith, *Dict. Biog.*, s. v. Gellius Publicius).



fleet sent by C. Furnius.<sup>1</sup> We know nothing more of interest for our purpose concerning Furnius. The *compluris alios* that Horace mentions next no doubt were also members of the coterie of Messalla, and thus it is all the more likely that Tibullus was one of them.<sup>2</sup>

Another interesting fact remains. Of those mentioned in the last group, Messalla, his brother and Bibulus had been in Athens together in the years before the battle of Philippi, and then had taken sides with Brutus, as Horace had. The same may have been true of Servius and Furnius. In the year 35, in which the Satire was probably written, Messalla, Furnius, Bibulus and probably Messalla's brother were closely identified with Mark Antony. The same may have been true of Servius. Thus it would seem that the circle of Messalla had its origin in the group of young men at Athens in the years just before Philippi; that this group joined Brutus' forces as a unit (Brutus was one of them); and that later, under Messalla's guidance, they joined Antony. This would naturally have been Horace's course as well, but for some reason or other he left the group (for he must have been a member) after the battle of Philippi, and entered that of Maecenas. He kept up, however, his friendship with the circle of Messalla, as indicated by this poem, and perhaps by his later friendship with Tibullus.

#### IV. CASSIUS PARMENSIS AND CASSIUS ETRUSCUS.

It seems to be the prevailing opinion at present that Cassius Parmensis (mentioned by Horace in Epist. I. 4. 3, and by other

<sup>1</sup> Some scholars, however, assign Hieronymus' statement to the year 37 B. C. (So Dessau, *Prosopographia imp. Rom.* vol. II).

<sup>2</sup> It was suggested above, p. 154, that Tibullus was too young to be mentioned by name. He was no doubt at least five, and probably eight to ten, years younger than those whose names are mentioned. Maecenas was born before 64; Virgil in 70; Varius probably earlier, at least not much later (he was a well-known poet in 41); Plotius apparently was of about the same age, at any rate not younger than Horace; Fuscus and Viscus were scarcely born later than 60, both being good friends of Horace before 35 (they are mentioned in Serm. I. 9, and, furthermore, Viscus' name is there coupled with that of Varius); Pollio was born in 76; Messalla not later than 64; Messalla's brother was older than he (for he was consul in 36); Bibulus was about as old as Horace (he went to Athens in 45); Furnius was a famous orator as early as 37 or 36. Tibullus was probably born in 55-54. See above p. 154, 161.

writers) is not the same man as the Cassius Etruscus spoken of in Hor. Serm. I. 10. 61, and only there. But I am inclined to go back to the older view. In the first place, the Scholiasts (including Porphyrio) identify the two, though, of course, that is no proof in itself. It has been argued<sup>1</sup> that Parma is not in Etruria, but in Cisalpine Gaul. Two answers can be made to this point. Etruscus may be a *cognomen*, not a designation of birth-place, and, in accordance with common custom, the *cognomen* precedes the *nomen* when the *praenomen* is omitted (cf. Carm. II. 2. 3; II. 11. 2; Epist. I. 2. 1; I. 8. 1). In the second place, Parma was very close to the border of Etruria, in fact the Etruscans had once been in possession of parts of Cisalpine Gaul. Parma was about as near the Etruscan border as Venusia was the Lucanian, so that if Horace was in doubt about the province to which his native Venusia belonged (Serm. II. 1. 34, *Lucanus an Apulus anceps*) he might be still more so about a town of northern Italy. Cassius, furthermore, may well have been an Etruscan Parmesan.

It is urged too that according to Serm. I. 10 (written about 35 B. C.) Cassius Etruscus had long been dead, and that we know from good sources that Cassius Parmensis lived until after the battle of Actium. Let us admit the latter, but examine the Horatian passage to see if another explanation can not be found. Cassius Parmensis had been a partisan of Brutus and Cassius, and, after Philippi, joined Sextus Pompey, who kept Octavian worried for some time, especially from 38 to 36 B. C. Pompey was defeated off Sicily in September 36, on which occasion many of his ships were burned (Appian B. C. V. 121). He himself escaped with a few ships to Asia Minor, and Cassius Parmensis went with him (for according to Appian B. C. V. 139, Cassius was among those who deserted to Antony there). One of Antony's generals, Titius, started against Pompey with a large fleet, and Furnius, Antony's legate, advanced with a land force. In desperation Pompey burned his own ships and joined his naval force to his land troops (35 B. C.). Now it may well have been rumored at Rome, either in 36 or 35 B. C. (especially the latter), that Cassius Parmensis was burned up with his ships. A garbled account of the events of the year 35 may have reached Rome, in which simply the burning of the ships (presumably by Pompey's opponents) and

<sup>1</sup> Weichert, De L. Varii et Cassii Parmensis Vita, 1836, p. 220.

the "loss" (really desertion) of Cassius Parmensis and others was mentioned. One should note Horace's words: *fama est*, "it is rumored", and should remember that the Satire was written very near the time of these events. *Fama est esse ambustum* may just as well mean "it is rumored that he *has been* burned" as "it is rumored that he *was* burned". It is no accident, perhaps, that Furnius is mentioned in the same Satire (in verse 86) as Cassius. He belongs there as a member of the circle of Messalla, as we have seen (p. 163), but, besides that, it was he, or perhaps his father, who had been partly responsible for the final downfall of Pompey and his army in Asia Minor. In the same way Horace may have been influenced to mention Cassius by the fact that he was a political enemy of Augustus as well as a literary opponent of his own.

There is possible, furthermore, another explanation of Horace's words. The interpretation of the Scholiasts that *ambustum* is used for *combustum*, and that Cassius' books served for his funeral pyre, seems to me very doubtful. *Ambustus* properly means scorched,—the meaning it has in the only other passage in which it is used by Horace (*Ambustus Phaethon*, Carm. IV. 11. 25). Some story about Cassius' escape from a fire in his house after trying to rescue some of his writings may be hinted at, or else it may have been spread about as a joke (*fama est*) that Cassius wrote so much that he used his books for lighting his fire.

At any rate there is nothing in the passage which cannot be easily explained to harmonize with what we know of Cassius Parmensis. Horace is contrasting his own slow and careful work with the rapid and careless output of Cassius. It is probably the same characteristic of Cassius that Horace satirizes by implication in Epist. I. 4. He uses *opuscula* playfully, by contrast,—he means huge, ponderous volumes—and the feat of "beating" (*vincat*) these would seem to be a great one. But why should Cassius Parmensis be singled out seven or more years after his death,—if Horace is making fun of him? This objection has been made by Weichert (p. 267). When Horace says *Candidè iudex* (v. 1), he recalls the time when Tibullus gave his approval to the Satires,—the approval which Horace sought of him (as we saw above) and of others in Serm. I. 10. Approval for what? For the polish and carefulness of his work, as contrasted with the facile volubility of Lucilius and his latterday successors—of whom Cas-

sus was one.<sup>1</sup> The whole Satire centers largely around that point (*Saepe stilum vertas*, etc.). Cassius Etruscus (=Parmensis) is contrasted with Horace, Virgil, Tibullus and others. What more natural than that Horace should later remind Tibullus thus delicately of the time when the latter had sided with him against Cassius and others of his ilk? There is a point, then, in the mention of Cassius Parmensis which would not exist if he were not the same as Cassius Etruscus. It is significant that Cassius and Tibullus both are mentioned, directly or by implication, in both the Satire and the Epistle.

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<sup>1</sup>Very interesting, as showing the similarity between Horace and Tibullus in this respect, are the words of Quintilian (Inst. X. 1. 93-94). He describes Tibullus merely by the words *tersus atque elegans* (trim and choice; one must be *elegans*—choose his words carefully—to be *tersus*). Horace in his Satires is called *tersior ac purus magis* (than Lucilius); *purus*, chosen to contrast with *lutulentus* applied to Lucilius, conveys the same idea as *elegans*. See also the valuable article of Bürger, *Beiträge zur Elegancia Tibulli*, in Leo, *Xáριτες* (1911) p. 393. For Tibullus' debt to Horace's Satires, cf. Jacoby in Rhein. Mus., 64, 65 (1909-10). Neither the Odes nor the Epodes show the same characteristics; that is one reason why they are not mentioned in Epist. I. 4. See also above, p. 154, n. 1.

### III.—LATIN INSCRIPTIONS AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

#### VII.<sup>1</sup>

82. Fragment of a marble slab, 0,35 m. wide and 0,25 high, roughly broken at top and bottom.<sup>2</sup> The inscription, of which the beginning and a few letters of the last line are missing, is cut in a somewhat vulgar style, and probably belongs to the third century:

ET · HERENNIA SABATHIS  
SIBI · ET · LIBERTIS LIBERTABVS  
QVE · POSTERISQVE EORVM  
ET LOCVM CVM TERMINIBVS  
SVIS ET COLVMBARIS SVIS  
DVOBVS · IN QVIBVS SVNT  
~~OLAE~~ NV MERO · IIII ·  
P · VI · LAT · P · IV

Sabathis is not common as a name of slave or freedwoman, but is found, for example, in X, 4320, ossa Sabatinis sita precario; and XIV, 1561, . . . l(ibertae) Sabbatidi. The *columbarium* is, of course, the *loculus* or niche, which usually, as here, contained two urns: for example, VI, 5533, Cn. Corneli Acuti columbaria ii ollae iii; ib., 8125, col(umbaria) viii ollae n. xvi. In some cases, however, the niche contained three, four, or even six urns, as in VI, 29698, ol. n. sex col. duo; ib., 7803, columbaria n. x ollarum n. xxxx; ib., 8131, columpare quinto ollas vi. Other inscriptions of interest in this connection are XIV, 1650, columbare et locum donavit; and VI, 15836, haec aedicula cum colum-

<sup>1</sup> The preceding articles of this series appeared in this Journal, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 450 ff.; XXX, 1909, pp. 61 ff., 153 ff.; XXXI, 1910, pp. 25 ff., 251 ff.; and XXXII, 1911, pp. 166-187.

<sup>2</sup> In the absence of any statement to the contrary, this and the following inscriptions may be regarded as of Roman origin.



(b)aris quattuor . . . in quibus ollae n. xii. The form *terminibus* is not uncommon in the Gromat. Vet., e. g., p. 55, l. 21, p. 70, l. 26, and index, p. 517: similar formations are seen in III, 12593, amicibus; and ib., 914, 7521, natibus.

83. Slab of marble, 0,215 m. wide and 0,35 high, from the Via Salaria, with the following inscription cut in fairly good letters of the second or third century:

HERAA · MEGISTENI  
CONTVBERNALI  
SVAE · CARISSIMÆ  
FECIT · TVMVLVM

This inscription was first published by Gatti in Bull. Com., 1906, p. 100, and Not. d. Scav. 1906, p. 212. The name Herma is well attested in its two forms, for example, in II, 1733, L. Baebius Herma; and in IX, 6281, Hermas. The vulgar Latin declension of Greek feminines in -η has been already discussed in connection with the datives *Leuceni* and *Tycheni* (A. J. P., XXX, 63). The form *Megisteni* occurs also in IX, 4653, Egnatiae C. f. Megisteni; and in X, 5239, Futiae C. l. Megisteni; but the true Greek form is seen in IX, 2363, (*Ae*)diae Megiste coniugi. The phrase *fecit tumulum* is not unusual, appearing, for example, in X, 7868, f(ecit) pater tumulum, though, of course, *tumulum fecit* is more common, as in X, 7525, maritus tumulum fecit, ib. 7816, 7840.

84. Slab of marble from outside the porta Salaria, with the following inscription carefully cut in fine letters of the early empire:

D  M  
HILARI TATI · FI  
LIAE · DVLCISSIMAE  
QVAE · VIX · ANN · XII  
FECERVNT · PAR  
RENTES · CARICVS  
ET · TITIA · SPES

The last letter in the fifth line repeated by mistake at the beginning of the sixth was erased in antiquity, but is still partly

visible. The proper names are all so common as to call for no remark: the occurrences of Caricus are given in Thes. Ling. Lat. Suppl., col. 191. Attention has already been called to the comparatively rare use of the *ascia* on Roman stones. See above under number 24 (A. J. P., XXXI, 28), and on the significance of the *ascia*, V. Chapot in Bull. Soc. Ant. Fr., 1911, pp. 113-118.

85. Tablet of marble, 0,24 m. wide and 0,14 high, bearing the following inscription in beautifully cut letters of an early imperial period:

HILARVS ·  
SOCELLIANVS ·  
HIC SITVS EST ·

The use of two names for a slave indicates, as usual, that he had changed owners, having formerly belonged to a member of the gens *Socellia*, which is attested in V, 2018; VI, 25479 and 26616. As the great majority of such cases were in the imperial household, this Hilarus was in all probability the slave of an emperor or of some member of the imperial family. To which emperor he belonged it is of course impossible to say, but the custom of using two cognomina for imperial slaves ceased with Trajan, as Huelsen has shown.<sup>1</sup>

On the reverse side of the same tablet is a second inscription, cut between scratched guiding lines in shallow vulgar letters of a later period:

M · VIPSANVS · DAPRN  
VS · CORNIILIA · PATIRI    *sic*  
SVO · CARISIMO                    *sic*

In the first line the R and in the second line a T begun in ligature with the A of PATIRI are incompletely erased. With the vulgar *patiri* may be compared *Mythirae* in III, 1112. Vipsanus may be an error for Vipsanius or Vipstanus, with which it is sometimes confused, as it is, for example, in certain manuscript variants in Tacitus.<sup>2</sup> Still, Vipsanus is attested in III, 3031, M. Vipsanus M. l. Faustus; X, 7222 and IX, 1451, though in the last case there is doubt about the reading.

<sup>1</sup> Roem. Mittheil., 1888, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Fabia's Onomasticon Tacit, p. 733.

86. Small fragment of marble, 0,06 m. wide, and 0,055 high, with the following inscription in vulgar letters:



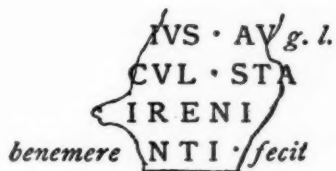
In the beginning of the second line may be seen a portion of the preceding letter, which was probably B. The lost word may have been SIBI. At the top are traces of the preceding line, but none of the letters can be identified.

87. Tablet of marble, 0,315 m. wide and 0,285 high, with inscription in somewhat vulgar letters probably of the second century:

DIS · MAN  
HYGIAE · STRATONICES  
TRALIAÑAE · VIX · ANNIS      *sic*  
XVIII · PLÓCAMVS · CONIVGI  
BENE · DE SE · MERITAE  
FÉCIT

Seven of the eleven instances of the apex are over consonants, and only one marks a long vowel. Similar examples of the use of the apex for ornamental purposes are given by Hübner, *Exempla Script. Epig.*, p. lxxvi. Hygia is usually a cognomen for slaves and freedwomen: here, however, as in V, 6020, Hygiae L. f. Amiantae, it is used as a nomen. With Tral(l)ianae compare Cic. Phil. 3, 15, 'Aricina mater'. Trallianam aut Ephesiam putes dicere.

88. Fragment of a marble tablet, 0,17 m. wide and 0,26 high, now broken into three pieces. It bears the following portion of an inscription well and deeply cut in large square letters:



The stone seems to have been erected by an imperial freedman to his wife. At the beginning of the second line part of a C is preserved, and at the end of the same line the first stroke of A is clearly seen. At the end of the third line the letter following N may be either E or I, and in the last line only a slight trace of the E before NTI and the perpendicular of the F that follows are visible.

89. Tablet of marble (*ansata*), 0,26 m. wide and 0,115 high, of which a small fragment is missing at the lower right corner. Above the inscription is a conventional incised pattern, and at the left side the nail by which the tablet was attached to its place is preserved. The text, which is cut in rather vulgar letters, is as follows:

IVCVNDVS · Q · SALLVSTI  
 ABINNAEI · SER · V · A · XIX  
 EVM · SEMPER · DOMINVS · PROB  
 HILARVS · CONSERVOS · FECIT · EVm  
 QVEM · AMASTI · DEFENDAS · ADSVP *eros*

This tablet doubtless belonged to the columbarium of the freedmen of Q. Sallustius, whose inscriptions are found in VI, 8173 ff. and 33709 f. The Q. Sallustius Q. l. Hilarus of 8196 and 8198 may possibly be the same as the Hilarus of our fourth line, and our Q. Sallustius Abinnaeus is in all probability the Q. Sallustius Abinnaeus faber intestinar(ius) of 8173. The personal appeal made by the dead in the last line is especially worthy of note. *Superi* from the point of view of the dead of course means those living on earth, and the word is not uncommon in this sense in the inscriptions. One example was cited in the note on line 16 of number 50 of this series (A. J. P., XXXII, 169); others are VI, 19331, abrepta a superis; ib., 28239, 8, vivite felices superi. The phrase '*ad superos*', too, in the sense of '*apud superstites*' is not rare either in literature or inscriptions; as, for example, Verg. Aen. VI, 481; Stat. Th. II, 17 and III, 145; Sil. XIII, 607; C. I. L., III, 4483, vixi . . . ad superos; X, 3969. With these compare XIV, 1597, aput superos; XI, 6079, nonleba(m) esse acerb(a) at inferos, quae at superos dulcis fui; Cic. Phil. XIV, 32 (imp(i)) etiam ad inferos poenas parricidii luent; and Mela, III, 19, ad manes.

90. Tablet of marble (*ansata*), 0,205 m. wide and 0,09 high, with the usual hole for the nail at each end, and the following inscription in good letters:

IVLIA  
AMMIA

The tops of the first three letters in the second line are extended to right or left with curving ornamental strokes. The *gens Ammia*, or, as it frequently appears on the stones, *Amia*, is well known from both literature and inscriptions. As a cognomen, however, Ammia is much less common: examples are XIII, 3624, *Securiniae Ammiae*; XIV, 617, *Arruntiae Ammiae*. Another Iulia Ammia is on record in VI, 20366.

91. Marble statuette of Silvanus, 0,60 m. in height, with the dog and other usual attributes. The head and right hand are missing. On the base, which measures 0,25 m. wide and 0,05 high, and within the space surrounded by a moulding and intended for the purpose, is cut the following inscription in a somewhat vulgar style:

C · IVLIVS · C · F · ANI · LINVS  
S S IV

The letters of the second line are less deeply cut and stand upon the moulding, which has been much damaged and broken. The letters doubtless signify S(ilvani) S(ancti) iu(ssu): cf. VI, 31028, *iussu Sancti Silvani posuit*. For a detailed discussion of the cult of Silvanus as revealed in the inscriptions, see A. von Domaszewski, *Silvanus auf lateinischen Inschriften*, in *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, pp. 58-85.

92. Tablet of marble, 0,205 m. wide and 0,155 high, with the following inscription in well cut letters of the early empire:

v C · IVLIVS · C · L  
CILIX  
CLODIA · HELPIS  
VXOR  
VLXIT · A · XXXV



Another Clodia Helpis is recorded in VI, 15815. The small v at the beginning of the first line, of course, stands for *vivus*.

93. Part of a marble slab, 0,30 m. wide and 0,25 high, roughly broken on the right side and at the bottom. The inscription is cut with care, but in letters of vulgar form and late date:

C / IVLIO / SATVR  
NINO / COIVGI  
KARISSIMO PV  
LAENA VEM

Along the lower edge of the stone slight traces of six letters may be discerned. The separative points in the first two lines have taken the common form of the apex above the level of the words, resembling the marks of punctuation used in the Herculanean papyrus, De Bello Actiaco. The name C. Iulius Saturninus is very common. The indices of the Latin Corpus furnish many examples, C. I. G., 4272, p. 1124, records a C. Iulius Saturninus *ὑπατικός* who was governor of Lycia, and Vict. epit. 28 by some mistake calls the son of the emperor Philippus by this name. Pu(l)laena has its parallel in VIII, 4009, Pullaena Qu(i)eta, and the name is found in various other forms, e. g., X, 376, Pullania Casta, VIII, 9154, Pullaenia Minucia, and III, 1118, Pullaiena Caeliana.

94. Slab of marble, 0,30 m. wide and 0,33 high, with the following inscription in fairly well cut, though not early, letters:

D · M  
C · IVLIVS  
VICTOR FILIA  
BVS SVABVS  
VICTORIE E  
T MARVLLI  
n E FECIT

At the bottom of the stone, which is obliquely broken, traces of one letter are visible beneath the I of FECIT. As it was probably an M, the last line may be restored as B(ene) M(*eren-*  
*tibus*). The form SVABVS after FILIABVS is easy to under-

stand, though I have not observed it elsewhere. Compare VI, 11839, *sibi et suibus*, and Not. d. Scav., 1904, p. 195, *sibi et suebus*.

95. Slab of marble 0,265 m. wide and 0,66 high, found on the right side of the modern Via Salaria about a mile from the city. The inscription is well cut, but is probably not earlier than the third century :

*corona*

D	M
IVLIAE ·	FELICIS
SIMAE ·	ANIMAE
SANCTAE ·	QVAE ·
VIX ·	ANN · PLVS ·
MINVS ·	XXV · FEC ·
P ·	AVRELIVS · HERMES
CONIVGI ·	B · M ·

This inscription was first published in Not. d. Scav., 1886, p. 420, and in Bull. Com., 1886, p. 411, and now appears in VI, 35589. The names are none of them unusual: *Felicissima* is especially common in Christian inscriptions, and another P. Aurelius Hermes occurs in VI, 7235. The epithet *anima sancta* appears also in VI, 7580, 13545, 18817, and 23640, and may be compared with *anima dulcis* in numbers 48 and 50 above (A. J. P., XXXII, 166 and 169).

96. Block of marble, 0,18 m. wide, 0,20 high, and on the average about 0,06 thick, with an inscription cut in somewhat vulgar letters probably of late Republican times. The stone is roughly broken at the bottom and the last part of the text is therefore missing :

A · IVNIVS · FAVSTVS  
 HEIC · SITVS · MISELLVS  
 BEIMVS · MATR| · MEAE  
 INPIAE · SCELERATAE · D|  
 suPER| · ET · INFER| · REFERAT    *sic*  
*gra* TIAM · QVOD · ME

*Misellus* as an endearing epithet for the dead is not uncommon, though it does not occur in the sixth volume of the Latin Corpus, if we may trust Harrod's index.<sup>1</sup> It is even glossed by *mortuus* in C. G. L., V, 223, 2. Epigraphical parallels are VIII, 403, and 11594, and in literature instances are numerous. Compare especially Tertull., Test. Anim. 4, cum alicuius defuncti recordaris, misellum vocas eum. For *bimus*, see VI, 5861, bimus decessit, ib., 26544, minus bima; ib., 17196, bimus et mensum iii dies xiiii vixit; Marucchi, Ep. Crist., 70, bimus trimus. *Bimulus*, too, is occasionally found, e. g., VI, 16739, 22321; V, 7950; XIV, 2482. With *matri-scleratae* may be compared VI, 9961, mater sclerata, quae hoc facinus vidit; ib. 15160, mater sclerata; Eph. Epig., VIII, 84, sce(ler)ata mater; C. I. L., VI, 13353, fecit iscelesta mater; ib. 36739, scelesta mater . . . quod. Another Iunius Faustus appears in VI, 20785, but his praenomen is Marcus.

97. Slab of marble, 0,34 m. wide and 0,49 high,<sup>2</sup> with a rude relief of a girl in an attitude of prayer, and beneath it the following inscription carefully cut in good square letters:

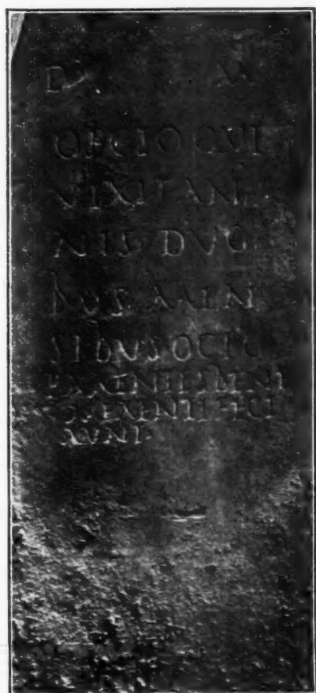
*orans*

D	M
LABERIAE ·	AVXIME ·
QVAE ·	VIX · AN · X ·
M ·	VI · D · XII ·
L ·	LABERIVS ·
HERMES ·	FECIT ·
·	PATER ·

The gens *Laberia* is well attested in the inscriptions. The cognomen Auxime, however, is otherwise unknown to me, though Auximus occurs, e. g., VI, 7979, 8684, 10773, and 31017. Sculptured *mulieres orantes* similar to this (see plate) are not rare on sepulchral stones and sarcophagi, more especially on

<sup>1</sup> Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship, Princeton, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> In December, 1903, when this inscription was first copied, it lay on the ground in the Vigna Nari. At that time the stone measured 0,76 m. in height, but the lower part has since been broken off.



See p. 179.

U3P M

U.S. M.



those of Christian origin.<sup>1</sup> See, for example, XII, 483, 649, 947, 958, 960, 965, Not. d. Scav., 1904, p. 48 and 1905, p. 12; and compare Marucchi, *Manuale di Arch. Crist.*, p. 313. This is not unlike the attitude referred to by Horace, C. III, 23, 1, *Caelo supinas si tuleris manus*; and Vergil, A. III, 176, *tendoque supinas Ad caelum cum voce manus*.

98. Marble cinerary urn, 0,32 m. wide, 0,29 high, and 0,25 deep, from outside the Porta Salaria. On the front is carved a *tabula ansata* with rosettes and other conventional ornaments, and the following inscription is cut in a somewhat vulgar style:

DIS · MANIBVS  
SEX LOLLI ·  
ALBANI ·

In the third line the horizontal stroke of the second A was left uncut.

99. Fragment of a marble tablet which was carved in the *ansata* form. Its size is now 0,09 m. wide and 0,11 high, and the nail at the left side is preserved. Most of the inscription is gone, but there remain a few letters, carefully cut between guiding lines scratched on the surface of the stone:

C · MA . . . . c  
L · | .

The second letter of the nomen, which is only in part preserved, is A without doubt, but the first letter of the cognomen, of which only the perpendicular remains, cannot be identified.

100. Small marble tablet, 0,175 m. wide and 0,13 high, with the following inscription cut in fairly good letters:

MEFANATIA  
C · L  
STORGE

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sittl, *Gebärden d. Griechen u. Römer*, p. 306: "Die Christen des Altertums liessen sich gerne auf ihren Grabsteinen betend darstellen, wofür keine sichere Parallele aus vorchristlicher Zeit vorliegt".



102. Slab of marble 0,255 m. wide and 0,56 high, bearing the following inscription cut in a vulgar style:

D ·                      · M ·  
 O E C I O Q V I  
 V I X I T · A N  
 N I S · D V O  
 B V S · M E N  
 S I B V S · O C T O ·  
 P A R E N T E S B E N E  
 M E R E N T I F E C E  
 R V N T ·

The most interesting feature here is the presence of cursive forms, especially of A, B and R, which resemble those of the Pupus Torquatianus inscription in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican.<sup>1</sup> As they may be clearly seen in the accompanying plate it seems unnecessary to attempt any detailed description. The inscription is evidently the work of an unpractised hand, though cut with considerable care, especially at the beginning. The name Oecius (*οἰκιος*) occurs also in X, 106, Oecius lib.

103. Small marble tablet from a columbarium (0,215 m. wide and 0,11 high) of the conventional *ansata* type, with the nail at the right side still preserved. A part of the stone is broken away at the left upper corner, but without damage to the inscription, which runs as follows:

L · O G V L N I V S  
 P V P I L L A E S · L  
 P H I L O N I C V S  
 T R E B O N I A · C · L · A P P I A

The letters are not in the best monumental style, but are fairly well cut and seem to belong to the early imperial period. Another example of the genitive in *-aes*, formed under Greek influence, occurs in number 36 (A. J. P., XXXI, p. 40).

<sup>1</sup> This inscription, VI, 27556, was illustrated and discussed in detail from the palaeographical point of view by Hellems, *American Journal of Archaeology*, III, 1899, 202 ff.

104. Slab of marble 0,89 m. wide and 0,22 high, now broken perpendicularly into two pieces, with the following Christian inscription:



OZIBVLA DVLCIS ANIMA  
QVAE VIXI ANNIS · VIII · IN PACAE

The letters are cut in a vulgar fashion and clearly belong to a late period. The second letter of the first word consists only of a perpendicular stroke, but is evidently intended for an L. In the two other examples of L the second stroke is not horizontal, but runs distinctly downward to the right. Other vulgar forms are the M, in which the third stroke joins the fourth at a point slightly above the middle, and the first N of ANNIS, in which the third stroke is quite separate from the rest of the letter and curves to the left at the top.

The proper name Olibula is nothing but a vulgar spelling of Olivula, a diminutive of Oliva, which is itself found in the spelling Oliba in IX, 412, Hi[c] re[q]uiescit in pace bone m[e]morie Oliba, a Christian inscription of the year 543 A. D. On *dulcis anima*, see under number 48 (A. J. P., XXXII, p. 166). Other examples of the common substitution of AE for E are found in number 77 (ib. p. 183).

105. Marble tablet, 0,30 m. wide and 0,26 high, with conventional incised moulding and a nail hole at each corner. The inscription, which is cut in the finest monumental style of a good early period, is as follows:

D · M  
ORPEO  
ET · RODOPAEO  
POSIT · MATER  
FILIS  
CARISSIMIS

The letters PE of ORPEO are cut in a lower plane than the rest and between the P and the E are signs which indicate that the

graver thoughtlessly began to add a tail to the P to make it an R. To remedy this error he seems to have cut the surface down with great care and to have brought it back to the normal level in the space now occupied by the E. The lack of the aspirate in ORPEO and RODOPAEO would be surprising in an official inscription as late as the end of the Republic, but in a text of this character it is not unusual even in the early Empire. The archaic POSIT has already been the subject of comment in number 41 (A. J. P., XXXI, 260).

106. Marble tablet 0,21 m. wide and 0,15 high, with the following inscription in fairly good letters:

C · PAPSENNA      *sic*

C · L · RVFIO

It is a well known fact, pointed out long ago by Mommsen, that nomina in -enna, like Porsenna and Perpenna, are of Etruscan origin. To this class clearly belongs Papsenna, which occurs also in VI, 28720, A. Papsenna Praenestinus, ib. 7478, C. Bapsenna (?) Secundus, and may be compared with C. I. Etr., 4, papsinaś (Faesulae). Such names are taken up in detail by Schulze, *lat. Eigennamen*, pp. 65-107.

107. Two fragments of marble together measuring 0,24 m. wide and 0,24 high, and forming approximately half of a tablet of the conventional *ansata type*. The inscription, so far as it remains, is as follows:

dis ma N · I B V S  
 a N XII · BENE ·  
 p E R E G R I N V S  
 TER · SIBI · ET · POSTERIS

These fragments were discovered about twenty-five years ago between the Via Salaria and the Via Pinciana, and are published in VI, 36068.

108. Slab of marble, 0,28 m. wide and 0,43 high, found in



1906 close to the so-called temple of Deus Rediculus. The inscription is as follows :

D        B        M ·  
P O M P O N I A  
S A B I N A · F E C I T  
P E T R O N I A E  
5 S A B I N A E · F I L  
B E N E · M E R · Q V E  
B I X · A N · T R I B V S  
M E S · X · D I E · V I I I  
F E C · A L V · I A N V A R I A  
10 M A M M A

The letters are fairly well cut, though in a somewhat vulgar style, and belong to a time not earlier than the third century. The inscription is enclosed in the conventional incised frame, with the exception of the formula D · M at the top and MAMMA at the bottom, which are outside. The ninth and tenth lines, though not essentially different from the others in style, seem to be a later addition. For the use of *alumna* and *mamma* in the Roman inscriptions, see Harrod, *Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship*, pp. 85, 54, 57 and 87. The forms *bix[if]* for *vixit* and *mes[ibus]* for *mensibus* in this period are so common as to call for no comment.

109. Tablet of marble, 0,35 m. wide and 0,16 high, with the following inscription in deeply cut but vulgar letters of a comparatively early period :

M · P O P I L L I V S · S P · F  
A C H A I C V S · Q V I E T V S  
H E I C · E S T · C O N D I T V S  
M E N S O R V M · X I

*Conditus* used with reference to the burial of the dead is much more common in literature than in inscriptions, where *situs* is the ordinary word. Compare Cicero, *Leg. ii*, 57, *siti dicuntur ii*,

qui conditi sunt. The vulgar genitive plural *ensorum* for *ensium* is found in a Christian inscription in Marucchi, Epig. Crist. 70, depositus puer Maurus annorum quinquae ensorum tres, and in the form *mesorum* in X, 623 and 2535.

110. Round foot of a travertine pigna from Palestrina (Praeneste), measuring 0,245 m. in diameter; the cone and upper part of the foot are broken off and missing. The following inscription is cut in small archaic letters on the curving edge near the bottom:

V · Π V V I · N · F

The gens *Pulia* or *Pullia* is attested in the following inscriptions from Praeneste: XIV, 3221, M. Pulio, L. f.; 3222, P. Puli, L. f.; 3223, Q. Pulus, L. f.; 3220, C. Pullius, L. f.; Eph. Ep. IX, p. 458, n. 846, S. Puli, L. f.

This inscription was first published by Magoffin (American Journal of Archaeology, XIV, 1910, p. 53, n. 17), who called the stone a "travertine pigna base", intending to distinguish a 'base' from a 'basis' or independent pedestal. Dessau, however, in his last supplement to the fourteenth volume (Eph. Ep. IX, p. 457, n. 844), unfortunately translated Magoffin's 'base' by "in basi (quadrata)", which should be rather "in margine inferiore pedis rotundi cippuli", if we are to follow the terminology adopted in XIV, pp. 328 ff. I should suggest to avoid further confusion that the parts of these little monuments, of which so many have been found at Praeneste, should be regularly named as follows, beginning from the top: cone (*conus*), foot (*pes*) and pedestal (*basis*). The different parts of the foot can then be easily distinguished as upper (*pars superior*), middle (*pars media*) and lower (*pars inferior*). The unfortunate results of lack of uniformity among epigraphists in their terminology is still more apparent in connection with the following inscription.

111. Pigna of travertine without pedestal, from Palestrina, measuring 0,40 m. in height and 0,145 in diameter at the base. The inscription, cut in good archaic letters of large size (0,05 m. in height) on the middle part of the foot, is as follows:

Q · Π V V I V S · V · F

The same text appears in XIV, 3223 as "in pede cippuli", and after consulting the authorities there cited, I believe that number

3223 is identical with the one here given. The inscription was first published by Henzen, on the basis of a squeeze furnished by Bonanni, in *Bull. d. Inst.* for 1869 (p. 165, n. 16), where it is described as "nel corpo stesso del piede". On this authority, together with that of a new copy made in 1871 by Trendelenburg, who saw the stone, it was again published in *Eph. Ep.* I, p. 26, n. 98, by Wilmanns, who described it in the following words: "in basi rotunda pineae. Praeneste in fundo dicto *la Colombella* rep. m. Sept. a. 1868. Hodie *ai prati*". Five years later (1877) Garrucci included it in his *Sylloge* as number 741, with the description "in basi media". Anyone who carefully examines this evidence can scarcely fail to be convinced that the inscription which was copied by Bonanni in 1868-9 and by Trendelenburg in 1871 is the same as that now preserved in the Museum of the Johns Hopkins University. It is, therefore, very unfortunate that Magoffin, deciding against identification with XIV, 3223, included this among his unpublished inscriptions from Latium (l. c., p. 54, n. 18), and described it as "on the throat of the pigna". For Dessau, apparently not understanding what was meant by 'throat' in this connection, speaks of the inscription as "in margine pedis pineae" in his last supplement to the fourteenth volume (*Eph. Ep.* IX, p. 458, n. 845).

While the inscriptions from Palestrina are under discussion, I desire to revert to my comment on number 62 above (A. J. P., XXXII, p. 174), in which I definitely asserted the independence of the inscription CAMELIA, and refused to identify it with XIV, 3083, as Dessau had done (*Eph. Ep.* IX, p. 450), because of the form of L with the acute angle at the base printed in n. 3083, which does not appear on the stone now preserved in Baltimore. An examination of the earlier publications, however, leaves the identification still in doubt. In the *Bull. d. Inst.* for 1866 (p. 135, n. 6), the inscription CAMELIA was first published by Henzen on the authority of a copy, accompanied by a squeeze, sent from Palestrina by Bonanni. His remarks there make it clear that the letters were cut on the cone itself, and that the archaic form of L did not appear in either copy or squeeze. In both these respects the inscription published in 1866 corresponds exactly to that which is now in Baltimore. Wilmanns, however, following the copy of Trendelenburg, who five years later saw what he believed to be the same stone, printed the inscription with the

archaic form of L, describing it as "in ipsa pinea", and Dessau in XIV, 3083, accepts the archaic form of L, though he describes the inscription less definitely as "in cippulo". Either then Trendelenburg was in error in reading L with the acute angle at the base in this instance, or the inscription seen by him in 1871 is not to be identified with that published by Wilmanns five years before. In either case XIV, 3083 stands in need of correction.

The remainder of the sepulchral inscriptions will form the basis of the next paper.

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#### IV.—PROTESILAUDAMIA LAEVII.

Of the poem by Laevius on the story of Protesilaus and Laudamia nothing has come down to us but the title, composed of the wedded names of the man and the girl, and seven meager fragments. In calling attention to one of these fragments I have two objects in view: first, to point out its probable setting in the lost poem, and second, to indicate the possibility of combining it with another fragment not previously attributed to the Protesilaudamia.

The lines to which I have reference are preserved by Priscian, who says (II, p. 496 K): *pellicui quoque pro pellexi ueteres protulerunt. Laevius in Laudamia:*

aut  
num quaequam alia te Ilias,  
Asiatico ornatu adfluens,  
aut Sardiano ac Lydio  
fulgens decore et gratia,  
pellicuit?  
"Or hath some other maid of Troy,  
Rich in the gauds of Asia, bright  
With Sardinian, Lydian comeliness and charm,  
Beguiled thee?"

As regards the text which I have printed, *num* is Müller's conjecture, accepted by Havet and de la Ville de Mirmont; the manuscripts of Priscian read *nunc*. With de Mirmont I accept Havet's *Ilias* for the *illo* (*illa*) of the manuscripts.<sup>1</sup>

The words, of course, are Laudamia's; they voice a doubt of the fidelity of Protesilaus. On their setting the editors of Laevius have had little to say. Concerning themselves only with the question whether Laudamia is addressing her husband face to face or apostrophizing him in a soliloquy during his absence, they have entirely neglected a more vital matter, the motive for her reproach. Jealousy must have some cause, real or imaginary, and in the case of Laudamia the cause is anything but obvious. Protesilaus, torn from her arms on the eve of their marriage, is constrained to take part in the expedition to Troy. Though aware of the prophecy that the first man ashore will be the first

<sup>1</sup> *Te ilico* Osann; *de Ilio* Voss, Müller, Bährens.



to die, he leaps from the ship while the others are hanging back, and is killed by Hector soon afterward. As an amelioration of his hard lot, the gods of the nether world permit him to return to his bride for three hours. This brief space over, he goes back to the shades, whither she soon follows him by a self-inflicted death. Such, in its essentials, is the story of the pair as it was usually told in antiquity: it is singularly barren of grounds for jealousy. Laudamia could not in reason complain even of long-continued absence on the part of her lord, for the first courier from Troy would have brought her word of his fate; moreover, there is nothing to indicate that any great length of time elapsed between his departure and his return *via* Hades.<sup>1</sup> The position of Laudamia was quite different from that of a Clytemnestra or a Penelope.

For this reason Maximilian Mayer, the only person, I think, who has suggested a motive for Laudamia's reproachful words, advances the theory that Laevius departed from the usual version of the tale.<sup>2</sup> "Eine wirkliche Spur späterer Dichtung glaube ich dagegen bei zwei andern Römern zu finden; ich meine die eifersüchtigen Besorgnisse, denen die junge Gattin bei Laevius dem aus der Ferne Zurückkehrenden gegenüber Raum giebt, und auf die Properz Bezug nimmt (I, 19, 13):

illic (im Hades) formosae ueniant chorus heroinae,  
 quas dedit Argiuis Dardana praeda uiris;  
 quarum nulla tua fuerit mihi, Cynthia, forma  
 gratior.

Dieser bei dem vorzeitigen Tode des Helden nicht allzu nahe liegende Gedanke hat, wie ich vermuthe, seinen Anlass in einer Ortssage, welche thatsächlich den Protesilaos mit kriegsgefangenen Frauen zurückkehren liess. Diese vom Epos unabhängige Ueberlieferung, welche den frühen Tod des Helden nicht kennt, die Gründungssage von Skione, findet sich bei Konon 13. Danach soll Protesilaos mit der kriegsgefangenen Aithilla, einer Tochter Laomedons und Schwester des Priamos, auf der Heimfahrt in jener Gegend gelandet sein: während aber er und seine Genossen landeinwärts gingen, um Wasservorrath zu holen, hätte jene im Verein mit den übrigen gefangenen

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Catull. 68, 85 quod scibant Parcae non longo tempore abisse si miles muros isset ad Iliacos.

<sup>2</sup> Der Protesilaos des Euripides, Hermes, 20 (1885), p. 132.

Troerinnen die Schiffe angezündet und so die Griechen zum Dortbleiben genöthigt".

In Mayer's opinion, then, there was a version of the story according to which Protesilaus came back to Laudamia in the flesh, accompanied by captive women from Troy. Hence the jealousy of Laudamia in Laevius; hence the mention of the *heroinae* in Propertius. But this appears to me, *εἰ μὴ ἀγροικότερον ἦν εἶπεῖν*, flatly impossible. The version which he postulates is a fusion of the ordinary story with the entirely distinct myth of the *κρίσις* of Scione.<sup>1</sup> The story of the foundation of Scione is told only by Conon; the contaminated version is purely hypothetical. It lacks even the support of the passages which it was invented to explain. In the case of Propertius we need but look at Mayer's quotation in its proper context:

illic Phylacides iocundae coniugis heros  
 non potuit caecis inmemor esse locis,  
 sed cupidus falsis attingere gaudia palmis  
 10 Thessalis antiquam uenerat umbra domum.  
 illic quicquid ero, semper tua dicar imago:  
 traicit et fati littora magnus amor.  
 illic formosae ueniant chorus heroinae,  
 quas dedit Argiuis Dardana praeda uiris;  
 quarum nulla tua fuerit mihi, Cynthia, forma  
 gravior.

It is at once clear that in lines 7-10, where Protesilaus is referred to, there is no hint of anything but the usual story of his dying and coming to life again; and that in lines 13-14, where the *heroinae* are introduced, there is no shadow of a reference to Protesilaus. Propertius has dropped the Protesilaus story, and is simply thinking in a general way of the fair Trojans whom he is likely to see in the lower world and who will not be able to alter his allegiance to Cynthia, thinking of Andromache and Cassandra rather than of Aethilla, sister-in-law of Hecuba (save the mark!), whom there is no reason to believe he ever heard of.<sup>2</sup>

The Laevius passage, then, is the only one in which jealousy on the part of Laudamia is intimated. At first glance Mayer's

<sup>1</sup> On this story see Türk, Protesilaos, Roscher, p. 3162.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rothstein, on l. 13: Die Heroinnen der Unterwelt kommen, um den neuen Ankömmling zu sehen. . . . Zu der Vorstellung eines feierlichen Empfanges ist diese Anschauung ausgebildet bei Stat. Silv. V. 1. 253 (vgl. Culex 261). . . . Gerade die Heroinnen nennt in demselben Zusammenhang Herodes Atticus in der Grabinschrift auf seine Gattin (Kaibel, Ep. Graec. 1046, 57) *ἐς χθρον ἐρχομένην προτεράων ἡμιθεάων*". See also his note on l. 14.

assumption that Protesilaus is accompanied by captive women from Troy would appear to explain this passage, but in reality it lacks much of so doing. Under such circumstances she would have been jealous, to be sure, but she would not have expressed her jealousy in the terms in which Laevius makes her express it.

aut  
num quaequam alia te Ilias,  
Asiatico ornatu adfluens,  
aut Sardonio ac Lydio  
fulgens decore et gratia,  
pellicuit?

Her language is general, not specific,—*quaequam alia*, not *istaec quidem altera*. The rival whom she fears is to her only in posse, not in esse.

It is quite unnecessary to create a hypothetical version of the story, for the usual version affords us a motive entirely adequate to explain the jealousy of Laudamia. It lies in the fact that Protesilaus had to leave her so soon after coming back to her. From this standpoint I should reconstruct the setting of the fragment in the following way. When he appears, she thinks him to have come from Troy: the first intimation that he must return to the place from whence he came fills her with amazement, for she naturally supposes that he means to go back to Troy. Under this delusion she plies him with indignant, suspicious questions: "Have you not done enough for Menelaus? Have I, your bride, no claims? Have you ceased to love me? Have I done anything to estrange you, or are your affections engaged over there?" Little by little she extorts from the reluctant lips of Protesilaus an explanation which transforms her incipient anger into black despair.

Here we have, it seems to me, a good and sufficient motive and a poetical setting. But is there any warrant for the assumption on which its validity depends, that Laudamia thinks her husband come from Troy? Not in the account of Hyginus (103): quod uxor Laodamia Acasti filia cum audisset eum perisse flens petit a diis ut sibi cum eo tres horas colloqui liceret. quo impetrato a Mercurio reductus . . . est. According to Hyginus, then, Laudamia not only had heard of her husband's death, but herself brought about his return from the lower world; consequently she could not but realize that he came thence and must return thither.

At the time when Mayer wrote, this would have constituted a weighty objection to the interpretation which I offer. But in 1891 Richard Wagner published an extensive fragment of an epitome of Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* which he had discovered a few years previously in the Vatican Library, and which contains the following reference to the story of Laudamia:<sup>1</sup> τούτου γυνή Λαοδάμεια καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἦρα' καὶ ποιήσασα εἶδωλον Πρωτεσίλαφ παραπλήσιον, τούτῳ προσωμίλει. Ἑρμῆς δὲ ἐλεησάντων θεῶν ἀνήγαγε Πρωτεσίλαον ἐξ Ἰδίου Λαοδάμεια δὲ ἰδοῦσα καὶ νομίσασα αὐτὸν ἐκ Τροίας παρῆναι, τότε μὲν ἐχάρη, πάλιν δὲ ἐπαναχθέντος εἰς Ἰδίου εἰαυτὴν ἐφόβησεν. Here we have exactly what we want,—a direct statement to the effect that Laudamia thinks her husband has come back from Troy. Moreover, the statement is derived from the one source which Laevius is most likely to have drawn upon, the Protesilaus of Euripides.<sup>2</sup> There is nothing, therefore, in the way of our supposition that Laudamia is under this delusion in Laevius.

The question now arises whether Laevius derived the jealousy *motif* from Euripides along with the situation. Unfortunately the *Epitoma Vaticana* does not tell us how the disillusionment of Laudamia was effected in the Protesilaus. Disillusionment, however, there certainly was; and we may be sure that it was brought about in a striking manner. This follows not only from the fact that her cruel error and her causeless joy are thought worthy of record in the epitome of an epitome, but from the consideration that Euripides, τραγικώτατος τῶν ποιητῶν, is not in the least likely to have overlooked the possibilities of the highly dramatic situation which he had created. Let us consider this point a moment. If Laudamia were human (and what else could she be in Euripides?) she must have said at once: "But we heard that you were dead!" How did Protesilaus answer? Did he shatter her delusion immediately, and so submit her to a horrid shock, and himself and the audience to three hours (or the stage equivalent thereto) of *alaï alaï* and *φεῦ φεῦ*? Or did he humor a natural

<sup>1</sup> R. Wagner, *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca*, etc., Leipzig, 1891, 17, 16 (p. 65); cf. p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Wagner, l. c.: Höfer, *Laudamia*, Roscher, p. 1827. As she has had tidings of his death, we must suppose either that she does not believe them true (Wagner), or that she does credit them till the sudden appearance of Protesilaus overthrows her belief (Höfer). I favor the latter view: her previous acceptance of the report would count for little in the face of the evidence of her senses. It should be borne in mind that Protesilaus is not a specter; he actually comes to life.

inclination to spare himself and her, and leave her a while in her error? In my opinion he took the latter course, and I think we have his equivocal answer in the much-discussed fragment of the Protesilaus πολλ' ἐλπίδες ψεύδουσι καὶ λόγοι βροτούς. Sooner or later, however, he had to tell her the truth, and almost inevitably the attempt to break it to her gently would give rise to a misunderstanding. It seems to me, therefore, that the situation in Euripides cries out for just such a treatment as we have ascribed to it in Laevius. For this reason, and also because the idea is quite good enough for Euripides and rather too good for Laevius, I believe that it originated with the tragedian.

We come now to our second theme. The interrogations of a jealous woman do not come singly, and Laudamia was no exception to the rule. Since the citation of Priscian begins with *aut*, it is clear that this question was originally preceded by another like it in form and content. Just such a complement is ready to hand. Under the lemma *hostire, offendere, laedere* we find in Nonius (p. 121 M) the following quotation: Laevius Erotopaegnon lib. II:

hunc quod meum admissum nocens  
hostit uoluntatem tuam.

Instead of Laevius the manuscripts read Pacuvius, but we know that Laevius was the author of a work called Erotopaegnia, that his name is almost always maltreated by copyists and that Pacuvius is not likely to have written anything of the sort. Consequently by common consent the name of Laevius has been placed in the text of Nonius since the time of Mercer, and the quotation has been included among the scanty remnants of the writings of Laevius.

Although *hunc* is clearly corrupt, the general sense of the passage is plain enough. Editors agree that the words are those of an injured girl to her lover. "Have I done anything to offend you?" It is a stock reproach, of which there are plenty of examples: a few from the *Heroides* will serve our turn.

- Oenone (V, 6): ne tua permaneam, quod mihi crimen obest?
- Phyllis (II, 27): dic mihi, quid feci nisi non sapienter amaui?
- Dido (VII, 164): quod crimen dicis praeter amasse meum?
- Briseis (III, 41): qua merui culpa fieri tibi uilis, Achille?  
quo leuis a nobis tam cito fugit amor?

Not only are some such words as these apposite to our context, but they are almost necessary to it. Either this thought or its positive counterpart, the *exprobratio immemoris beneficii*, "Have



I not done this and that to please you?" is put in the mouth of every wronged maiden in poetry; and as Laudamia had done nothing special to insure her husband's loyalty, it is ten to one that she brought out the fact that at least she had done nothing to forfeit it.

Both fragments are naturally in the same meter, the iambic dimeter: a far more significant fact, however, is that the last word of the Nonius quotation, *tuam*, terminates in a syllable capable of elision, so that *aut*, the first word of the other quotation, can be taken on at the end of the line. Note what Havet, speaking of the Priscian fragment, has to say on this score:<sup>1</sup> "Le premier dimètre est trop long: *aut* est à rejeter sur le membre précédent (*qui devait se terminer par une syllabe élidée*) comme *et* dans les saphiques d'Horace".

The formal parallelism of the two fragments is striking. Observe *hostit* and *pellicuit*, each beginning its line; the pronouns *quod* and *quaequam* and their position, and the correspondence of subject and object in both clauses. To complete the parallelism and make the fragments fit together perfectly is a simple matter. The manuscript reading *hunc* is a manifest corruption of *nunc*; we need only assume, as Bährens and Müller have already assumed,<sup>2</sup> that *nunc* is a misreading of *num*, just as in the Priscian fragment. The result speaks for itself:

num quod meum admissum nocens  
 hostit uoluntatem tuam? aut  
 num quaequam alia te Ilias,  
 Asiatico ornatu adfluens,  
 aut Sardonio ac Lydio  
 fulgens decore et gratia,  
 pellicuit?<sup>3</sup>  
 Hath any hurtful deed of mine  
 Run counter to thy heart's desire?  
 Or hath some other maid of Troy,  
 Rich in the gauds of Asia, bright  
 With Sardonian, Lydian comeliness and charm,  
 Beguiled thee?

To me, at least, this combination carries conviction. I have no doubt, however, that some will be inclined to stick at the

<sup>1</sup> Rev. de Phil. 15 (1891), p. 7. The italics are mine.

<sup>2</sup> Both claim the emendation: in Poet. Lat. Fragm. (1879) Bährens says *scripsi*, and in Müller's Nonius we find *numquod* (*fuit nunquod*) *M.*

<sup>3</sup> For *num* . . . *aut num* see Plaut. Pseud. 219; Cic. Phil. 2, 92; Top. 45; De Div. 1, 24; 2, 9.

point that *num* in each case is conjectural. In reply to this objection I would say in the first place that we are not dealing with ad hoc conjectures. In each case *num* has been already suggested, for the reason that the editors want a question, the form in which such reproaches are usually cast, and do not want *nunc*, which they find it hard to account for. The readiest way to get the question and eliminate *nunc* is to change *nunc* to *num*. In the second place the correction is an extremely easy one. The words *num* and *nunc* are constantly confused in the manuscripts (Plautus, for example, is full of instances),<sup>1</sup> owing to the fact that in the Rustic Capital script a carelessly drawn M is very difficult to distinguish from NC. That the mistake should be repeated is not at all surprising, for the corruption of *num* to *nunc* in one instance would almost inevitably have induced a similar corruption in the other. Naturally it is to be assumed that the transmission of the text of Laevius is responsible for the double corruption, and not the independent traditions of Nonius and Priscian.

The fact that the fragment quoted by Nonius is ascribed by him to the Erotopaegnia does not stand in the way of its assignment to the Protesilaudamia, for it is generally agreed that this poem and many others similarly cited by name were included in the collection entitled Erotopaegnia.<sup>2</sup> This opinion is based chiefly on Charisius (I, 288 K), who speaks of "the Phoenix of Laevius, the last ode in the Erotopaegnia", thus making it clear that separate poems in this work in some cases bore separate titles.

An issue is raised by the fact that Nonius refers the citation to the second book of the Erotopaegnia, since Havet has already assigned the Laudamia<sup>3</sup> to the sixth book. This he does by capping a fragment from Nonius (209 M):

in eum inruunt, cachinnos,  
ioca, dicta fusitantes

with one from Charisius (I, 204 K); Laevius Erotopaegnon VI:

lasciuiterque ludunt.

<sup>1</sup> E. g., Poen. 1258; Rud. 328; 611; 636; 962; 1288; Truc. 641; Mil. 1019.

<sup>2</sup> Bährens, *Fragm. Poet. Rom.*, p. 287: "fragmenta duplici modo a grammaticis adferuntur, partim secundum libros, partim secundum singula carmina, quorum compluria sine dubio unusquisque continuit liber". Cf. Schanz in *Iw. Müller*, VIII, 1, p. 34, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. de Phil.* 15 (1891), p. 12.

In such a case we can only weigh the two combinations against one another and determine which is the more probable, since absolute proof or disproof of either is in the nature of things impossible. My own feeling is that Havet's combination has distinctly less in favor of it and more against it than mine. In the first place, it is doubtful whether his two fragments are in the same meter. The words *lasciuiterque ludunt* are not necessarily an Anacreontic: they can just as well be a catalectic dimeter, used either by itself as a clausula or with others in a system.<sup>1</sup> In the second place, the phrase is susceptible of more than one interpretation. It is of course applicable to the *Fescennina iocatio*, but it is equally applicable to the wanton play of kids in pasture or the dalliance of lovers. In the words *mea Vatiēna, amabo*—"Sweet Vatiēna, prithee!"—we have another Anacreontic from the pen of Laevius. The atmosphere of *basiationes* into which it introduces us would form just as appropriate a setting for *lasciuiterque ludunt* as the *Fescennina iocatio* of the Protesilaudamia.

To be sure, all this does not prove that Havet is wrong and that I am right. It merely shows how much less plausible his suggestion is than one which combines two fragments unquestionably kindred in sense, parallel in form, and not only identical in meter but so constituted that a superfluous word in one finds a place in the other.

To sum up in a word, it seems to me altogether probable that the fragments in question belong together, that the Protesilaudamia stood in the second book of the Erotopaegnia, and that Laevius, following Euripides, based Laudamia's jealousy on the fact that Protesilaus had to leave her so soon after his return.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Marius Victorinus (VI, 138 K): "huius tenoris ac formae quosdam uersus poetas lyricos carminibus suis indidisse cognouimus, ut apud Arbitrium inuenimus, cuius exemplum

Memphitides puellae  
sacris deum paratae.

item

tinctus colore noctis  
Aegyptias choreas.

Cf. also Terent. Maur. 2486; Diom. I, 518 K.

## V.—PHONETIC TENDENCIES IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN CONSONANT SYSTEM.

1. Since the seventies of the last century, the hypothesis of phonetic laws has won general recognition; occasional opposition (Wheeler, Bremer, Herzog, etc.) is directed rather against loose definitions of these laws, or their universal extension, than against their basic assumption. Their psychological reasons have been explained in various ways (Paul, Wheeler, Oertel, Wundt, Delbrück, Bremer, Herzog), but the general gist of practically all explanations may be concentrated in Sievers' statement (*Phon.* 4, 243): "Aller lautwechsel beruht auf mangelhafter reproduktion der traditionellen aussprache".

The physiological factors, however, which necessitated phonetic changes, have hitherto received but little attention. It is generally assumed with great probability—though hardly proved—that there exist no important differences between the organs of speech of different individuals or linguistic groups, although minor differences are occasionally admitted (Bremer, *Deutsche Phonetik*, p. 11).

2. At the same time, even the most untrained ear can perceive without difficulty that any given language has a well-defined phonetic character which can easily be imagined to have had a decisive influence upon phonetic changes. We are hardly able at present to understand the psychological reasons of this phonetic habitus of languages, but our present stock of phonetic formulas seems sufficient to permit the description of linguistic characteristics in three respects: As to the actual occurrence of certain sounds in certain languages—as to their direction of development—and as to the physiological tendencies expressed by these currents. In other words: it seems that the time has come to give phonetic sketches of languages from a comparative standpoint, thus systematically grouping our present knowledge of apparently isolated phonetic laws.

Not the slightest attempt even at an approach to completeness is contemplated in this brief article. It is rather intended as a tentative program, a suggestion of investigations that might be

made along these lines, adding only meagre instances of a few especially clear phonetic tendencies. More detailed analyses of individual problems have been attempted by the writer in two articles which will appear in the near future (*Die Stabilität des germanischen Konsonantensystems*, I. F., and Forchhammers *Akzenttheorie und die germanische Lautverschiebung*, JEGPh).

3. The Indo-European consonant system, to which this paper is limited, shows a fairly wide range of places of articulation, tending rather toward front articulation, at least in comparison with the Semitic languages, as it lacks only the larynx and the pharynx articulations. Surprising is the Indo-European lack of spirants: The primitive Indo-European language possesses practically only the dental spirant *s*; voiced *z* occurs through assimilation, and similarly *ȝ* and *u* can become real spirants only through combinatory sound changes; the existence of *p* has not been demonstrated in a convincing manner. The occurrence of three complete series of "gutturals" is peculiar and not paralleled in living Indo-European languages, but may be interpreted as a phonetic interpolation between older, simpler conditions, and the beginning separation of the primitive language into the dialects. This leaves aside the question of the assimilation of the so-called palatals, for which compare Hirt, KZ. 24, 226 ff., Hermann, KZ, 41, 59, Delbrück, *Einleitung*<sup>4</sup>, 124.

4. In the historical development of the Indo-European languages, two facts become clearly apparent at first glance: in the eastern, western and (partly) southern Indo-European languages, a tendency toward a suppression of the two extreme places of articulation, the labial and the velar, and a preference for palatal and dental articulations; on the other hand, in the central and northern part of the Indo-European territory, a very conservative adherence to the labial and velar articulations, however without any loss of dental articulations. E. g., Armenian and Celtic lose, partly or entirely, the *p* sound. All eastern languages, including Albanese, abandon the labial element of the labiovelars, while in Greek and Celtic there is at least a considerable trace of the same tendency, and the Romance languages show similar inclinations especially on Celtic territory (compare French *quatre*).

Without citing isolated details (like Latin *p* > *f*) it can be stated that changes of the place of articulation are frequent everywhere except on Germanic territory, where they occur only



as results of assimilation or dissimilation (like Goth. *pliuhan*—German *fliehen*).

5. Next to changes of the *place* of articulation, comparative phonology takes account of changes of the *mode* of articulation, which comprises differences between voiced and voiceless consonants, and between stops and spirants, as e. g.  $d > t$ ,  $t > p$  or  $t > ts$  or  $ss$ . But in considering the geographical and ethnic distribution of such changes, a further discrimination between spirants (at least of the dental and palatal series) seems imperative: spirants of these places of articulation can be formed in two ways: either, the surface of the tongue is convex, so that the breath passes through a narrow slit, as with  $p$ ,  $\chi$ ; or, the tongue forms a more or less distinct rill in its median line, as with  $s$ ,  $sh$ . The former may be called slit sounds, the latter rill<sup>1</sup> sounds. This is not a minor distinction, but one which influences the phonetic character of a language more than any other consonant change in Indo-European languages. Accordingly, it may be well to distinguish the changes of the mode of articulation into such affecting the *way* of articulation (the conditions of voice and voicelessness, occlusion and narrowing), and such affecting the *shape* of articulation, or, more accurately, the shape of the articulating organ of speech, according to slit or rill shape.

6. With respect to this distinction, the Indo-European languages show a surprising regularity of development, which I have outlined approximately in the following way in my article on the stability of the Germanic Consonant system:

The tendency to substitute rill spirants for velar, palatal, or dental stops, or for slit spirants, appears in all Indo-European languages with the exception of the Germanic group. The time and frequency of its appearance is in direct proportion to the geographical and chronological remoteness of a given language from the Germanic group. In all *satem*-languages it is fully developed in the very earliest documents that we possess; only Albanese, Lithuanian, and Sanscrit show conservative traces of adherence to the older articulation—the former possibly in consequence of their close proximity to *centum*-languages, the latter perhaps on account of the strict separation of the Indo-European and the non-Indo-European ethnic elements in India. Greek shows this tendency only in minor points; in classical Latin,

<sup>1</sup> I use this rather awkward term in translation of Jespersen's *Rille*.

there is no trace of rill formation—on the contrary, -s- becomes -r- which is the direct opposite of such changes; but other Italic dialects, like Umbrian, exhibit the rill tendency from early times, and the Romance languages develop it completely; the purely Celtic languages show a predisposition in the same direction, and are justly considered the phonetic basis of at least certain Romance languages.

7. The Germanic languages do not take part in this development, but show a strictly contrary tendency—a tendency which was mentioned in connection with Latin: *Nowhere* in *purely Germanic* territory has a rill sound ever been developed from a slit sound or a stop. In two instances, rill sounds have even been changed to slit sounds: *s* became *r* under Verner's law, and *j* became the "narrow spirant" of North German and Scandinavian, with convex tongue surface, instead of the "wide spirant" pronounced with concave tongue surface, which we have in English and South-German. With respect to rill formation, Germanic is nearly identical with Indo-European, presenting a slight development on the original lines of the primitive language. Only two dialect groups of the Germanic branch show rill formation: Anglo-Frisian, in its palatalization, and South-German, in the development of dental sibilants in the second sound shifting. But it must not be forgotten that these two groups belong to formerly Celtic territory, where the continuance of Celtic phonetic tendencies can readily be understood.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this respect, it is interesting to note the discrepancy between actual English usage of the present day, and a somewhat artificial opposition to it, in the pronunciation of the suffix *-ture*. English linguistic tendency requires imperatively the pronunciation -tʃər or tʃūr; as early as 1810, Smart, in his *Gr. of Engl. Pron.*, requires the former pronunciation; Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, 1162, remarks: "My own pronunciation *kritʃūr* is, as I fear, pedantically abnormal, although I habitually say so, and *kritʃə*, *fənilitʃə* are the natural sounds." And in the *Introduction to Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary*, Smart says (1838):

"Let any English mouth fluently pronounce the phrase '*I'll meet you*' without accent or emphasis on *you*, and there will be heard, in the transition from the *t* in *meet*, to the *j* in *you*, a slight interposed sound of *sh*. So likewise in saying: '*Would you favor me?*' there will be heard, in the transition from the *d* in *would* to the *j* in *you*, an interposed sound of the vocal *sh* (ʃ in *pleasure*). It would indeed be possible to prevent the intrusion, but what the speaker would gain in accuracy by such care, he would lose in ease and fluency of transition. So likewise it is possible to preserve the pure sound

8. While in regard to rill formations the Germanic languages are conservative to the utmost, the opposite is true in regard to the changes of the *way* of articulation, in the meaning of the term defined in § 5. These changes are, on the whole, covered by the term "sound shifting". Changes from voiced to voiceless stops appear, to a minor extent, in Armenian, from voiced to voiceless spirants in Latin (similar  $dh > \theta$ ,  $bh > \phi$ ,  $gh > \chi$  in Greek), from voiceless stops to slit spirants to a very limited extent in Iranian and Celtic. But only the Germanic languages exhibit a general principle of such a change, affecting all three classes mentioned. In this respect again, they stand isolated from all other Indo-European languages. Not as an explanation, but only as a description of this phenomenon, the following may be stated: The non-Germanic Indo-European languages show an inclination towards articulation at or near the hard palate, the Germanic languages avoid it. In consequence of this, palatalization in the narrower sense of the word—"mouillierung"—is of common occurrence in the former, but unknown in the latter. Rill formation frequently accompanies or follows palatalization, and presupposes similar phonetic conditions as this, namely a relatively great pliability of the tongue-surface; avoidance of palatalization, and of rill formation, on the other hand, point to a comparative rigidity of the tongue-surface in Germanic territory; this need not by any means be a physiological condition, but rather seems to develop in individuals through the linguistic tradition of their surroundings. The phonetic fact, nevertheless, remains.

9. Sound shifting is due to an increase in the force of expiration. This is an acknowledged fact which is almost self-evident. This increased force of expiration causes the development of voiceless stops to voiceless spirants, and of voiced aspirates to voiced spirants, by gradually overcoming the muscular tension of the tongue (or lips) and thus changing the occlusion into a narrowing; on the other hand, it causes opening of the glottis, i. e., voicelessness, (change of  $b$  to  $p$ , etc.) at a period when, by reaction, the muscular tension had increased. The details of

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of the  $t$  and  $d$  in *nature* and *verdure*; yet nothing is more certain than that they are not preserved pure by the best and most careful speakers".

On the other hand, these  $tʃ$ ,  $dʒ$  combinations (also in words like *just*) present difficulties to the native German or Scandinavian.—Engl. voiced  $th$  is pronounced  $z$  by Frenchmen, Italians, etc., but  $d$  by Germans and Scandinavians.

these changes are analysed from a physiological standpoint in my article "Forchhammers Akzenttheorie und die germanische Lautverschiebung", where also Verner's law, Sievers' law, Holtzmann's law, and the Germanic assimilation of *n* are explained on the same basis.

The two-fold nature of the Germanic sound shifting—increase of the strength of expiration, and of the muscular tension, balancing each other in a measure—has been aptly represented by Jacob Grimm in the form of his well-known circle:



While we can no longer accept this diagram as to details, it shows, on the whole, an ingenious insight into the character of this phonetic change.—It is a natural consequence of the facts here presented that the second sound shifting means, in part, a reversion to the Indo-European consonants; compare OHG. (Lex Sal.) *haupit* (and *haubit*): Lat. *caput*.

10. The second sound shifting presents peculiar problems from the standpoint of phonetic tendencies as outlined in the preceding paragraphs. Originally, it is clearly based on the same tendencies as the first sound shifting: tenuis becomes voiceless spirant, media becomes tenuis, voiceless spirant *p* becomes voiced spirant *d* and then *d*.

But: (a) these changes are non-exceptional and permanent only in the dental series, (b) instead of the spirant, we find in certain positions its phonetic predecessor, the affricate, which partly returns to the simple stop (*kh* > *k*), (c) the dental stops develop (gradually?) to rill sounds, originally with a comparatively flat, later with a sharp rill: *t* > *zz* > *ss*.

On the basis of § 7, the following hypothesis seems justified: The Germanic element of the present South German population belongs to the Suevian group which until the beginning of our era inhabited the center of Germania Magna. The second sound shifting, as a tendency, started before, or at the time of, their migration, being nothing but a continuation of the first sound-shifting. It was impeded, and partly deflected, through their intermingling with the Celts in South Germany: Celtic phonetic tendencies replaced the Germanic phonetic tendencies. The

Anglo-Frisian conditions were similar, except that in this group the Celtic influences are older, and were partly repeated.

11. These are only a very few illustrations of the phonetic tendencies in the Indo-European consonant system. The physiological or traditional explanation of the basic non-Germanic tendencies has been mentioned in § 8: a relatively high pliability of the tongue. This is fact, not hypothesis. The cause or causes of the Germanic tendencies described above cannot be stated with such certainty. Rigidity of the tongue is a merely negative element which does not explain anything. Increased force of expiration is the underlying factor, but raises the question "Why?" even more vividly than the phonetic changes do themselves.

The question has been answered in various ways. Hans Meyer assumes effects of the mountainous habitation of the Germanic people (ZfdA. 45, 101 ff.), but his proof is not convincing; Wundt (*Völkerpsychologie* I<sup>2</sup>. 208 ff.) supposes acceleration of speech, but has been refuted by Delbrück. Herzog (*Streitfragen der roman. Phil.* 66 ff.) approaches a phonetic explanation more than anyone else (although his explanation of Verner's law is obviously incorrect, being based on the untenable statement that a spirant belongs naturally to the preceding syllable: "Wo aber der vorhergehende Sonant nicht betont war, also die anschwellende Bewegung auch während der Einsatz (*sic*) des Spiranten, der ja zur vorhergehenden Silbe zu gehören pflegt, anhielt, assimilierte sich zunächst dieser an den Sonanten hezüglich des Stimmtons"). He assumes, "es sei zu einer gewissen Zeit statt des gleichmässigen Einsatzes des Druckes ein leicht anschwellender eingetreten, sodass also betonte Silben eine anschwellend-abschwellende Druckverteilung erhalten . . . . Die Druckverschiedenheit innerhalb der Silbe hätte sich nun immer mehr verstärkt, so dass dieselbe schliesslich äusserst schwach betont einsetzte". This theory cannot lead to correct results because it is based on the incorrect assumption that an accented syllable requires a stronger force of expiration than an unaccented one. But it contains the admission of the well-known fact that in Germanic languages a change of the character of accent has taken place, in such a way that a more or less musical accent was gradually replaced by a very decidedly dynamic accent. It is not my purpose to discuss in this paper the development and effects of this phonetic tendency. However, we can certainly



assume that one common psychological or physiological cause must be at the bottom of both the Germanic accent and the Germanic sound shifting. It would be hard to imagine any physiological causes of such changes, but a psychological explanation seems more feasible. Would it be too wild a hypothesis to think of a Germanic tendency to direct the attention to the *thought*, instead of the *form* of speech? To concentrate, accordingly, the force of a sentence into one or few words, the momentum of a word into one important syllable? This would be entirely in accordance with the general development of Germanic languages, but it goes far beyond the scope of this paper, in fact, at present even beyond the limits of comparative phonology.

12. As said in the introduction, these are only suggestions, not detailed investigations. Much is to be done in this field: Phonetic sketches of individual languages, both from an historical and a strictly modern standpoint; detailed investigations of single groups of sounds; of the problems of the various vowel changes; of palatalization, especially in the Slavic and Romance languages; of assimilation, dissimilation and metathesis. Much has been done along these lines, but, as far as I am aware, from the standpoint of more or less isolated facts, not with reference to phonetic tendencies. The ethnic structure of nations, its relation to phonetic tendencies and the influence of economic, geographical, cultural conditions upon pronunciation present problems of the greatest interest and importance. In short: Comparative philology, with all its splendid achievements in the recognition of isolated facts has nearly arrived at the point of Mephisto-Faust:

Dann hat er die Teile in seiner Hand,  
Fehlt leider nur das geistige Band.

In building this spiritual bridge, correlating the phenomena of language, I see the most fascinating task of Comparative Phonology—and in a more distant future, also of Comparative Morphology and Comparative Syntax.

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# VI.—ON JUVENAL SAT. I. 144.

*Hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus.*

To the Montpellier scholiast the *intestata senectus* of this well known passage meant "intestate old age", and it is somewhat remarkable that not until the appearance of Housman's article in 1899<sup>1</sup> was it regarded as capable of any other interpretation. It is true that Madvig had already felt the lack of causal connection between a bath after excessive eating and an old age without a will, but his remedy, which was to change *intestata* of the text to *infestata*, found little acceptance. Housman, agreeing with Madvig that the thought, as the scholiast understood it, did not hang together, offered a new explanation, viz., that as *intestatus* is the opposite of *testatus*, the meaning here is "unattested old age," that is, an old age *adeo invisitata ut teste careat*—in other words, a non-existent old age, if I understand him rightly. This view of Housman's gives a certain logical consistency to the text, but the expression is a very indirect one, and moreover, if *intestata senectus* be not a mere repetition of *subitae mortes*, it makes the line imply that old age among men of luxurious habits at Rome was unknown. All of which leaves the student of Juvenal unsatisfied.

In the view which I wish to suggest, *intestata* does not refer either to witnesses or to wills, but is the same word as the *intestatus* which occurs in Plaut. Mil. 1416, and which is there used of physical mutilation. I take it here in a secondary sense of "vigorless", "enfeebled", "impotent", and regard the whole line as meaning "Hence come sudden deaths and (what is worse) impotent old age". In addition to the straightforward and excellent sense which this interpretation seems to give, it reveals a touch that is especially Juvenalian. This secondary meaning of *intestatus* seems not to occur elsewhere, but, given the primary significance and the fact referred to in Persius (Sat. I 103, *Haec fierent si testiculi vena ulla paterni Viveret in nobis?*)<sup>2</sup> that the

<sup>1</sup> Class. Rev. XIII, pp. 432 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the same use of *mentula* in Mart. XI 90, 8.

testes were the symbol of strength and manhood, it would be certain to arise and to become a common, if not refined expression.

The association of old age with incapacity for the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense is a familiar one. We need scarcely recall the recognition of it by Plato in Rep. 329 b, c, or Cicero's paraphrase of the Platonic view in Cat. Mai. XIV 47,<sup>1</sup> or Juvenal's bitter proclamation (X 204 f.) of the same truth. This bodily inefficiency in old age is produced or exaggerated by unrestrained and luxurious living,<sup>2</sup> so that Juvenal in making an impotent and enfeebled old age the result of excessive indulgence, is only following in his own striking way a beaten path.

For modern readers the real significance of *intestata* is obscured by the frequent references in the satirists to legacy-hunting and the making of wills. To this latter, doubtless, is due mainly the persistence of the scholiast's explanation.

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<sup>1</sup> For Cicero's personal experience and attitude see the unique passage in Fam. IX 26, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. Cat. Mai. IX 30; Sen. Ep. XV 15-18 (quoted by Mayor on Juv. I. 142).

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Roman Stoicism : Being Lectures on the History of the Stoic Philosophy with Special Reference to its Development within the Roman Empire. By E. VERNON ARNOLD. Cambridge University Press, 1911. Pp. xi + 468.

The book under review falls naturally into three parts. Chapters I.-III. ('The World-Religions'; 'Heraclitus and Socrates'; 'The Academy and the Porch') aim to present the antecedents of Stoicism and the known details of its founder's life and development; chapters IV.-XV., constituting the main body of the work, set forth the Stoic doctrine; the two remaining chapters, entitled 'Stoicism in Roman History and Literature' and 'The Stoic Strain in Christianity', deal with the influence of the Porch. From this summary view, as from the title of his work, it is clear that our author is chiefly concerned to present a faithful account of Stoicism and its doctrines; what precedes and follows is of secondary importance. This the reviewer is bound to take into consideration, and to judge the book accordingly. It may be said at once, therefore, that in the part which the author clearly regarded as of first importance his work is unusually excellent; it is only in the chapters which serve to frame his picture, that the critic discovers his coveted opportunity for fault-finding.

In his chapter on the world-religions Professor Arnold, who rightly conceives Stoicism as essentially a religion, passes in review Chaldaism, Persism, Buddhism, Judaism, and Druidism, and considers them in relation to the thought of the Porch, assuming in general the point of view of those who are most inclined to credit foreign, especially oriental, religions with a great influence on Greek thought. Though aware of the reluctance of leading historians to accept the views which he entertains, he advances them with apparent assurance. His procedure may be excused on the ground that all this is *ἔξω τοῦ μυθεύματος*; but it is to be regretted that he fails to make distinctions which would seem to be necessary in any historical account. First, there is the distinction of periods. One who readily accepts Persian or Chaldean influence in the time of the Roman Empire may be pardoned for incredulity touching the period extending from the seventh to the fifth centuries B. C. Again, one may incline to admit the probability of a general stimulus to religious enthusiasm without believing in the propagation of specific alien doctrines, especially if known indigenous antecedents fairly suffice to explain the facts. The statements of Greek and Roman authors on such matters are known

to afford an insecure basis for history, since their motives and the limitations of their knowledge are patent. The modern student is incomparably more competent to judge; for he not only has ready to his hand the results of ancient observation and the accumulated data of anthropological research, but he commands also a wider survey of history and an acquaintance in particular with the slow processes by which even the most energetic propaganda succeeds in changing the deep-seated convictions of alien peoples. We know that centuries of inner disintegration of the Hellenic bed-rock were required to prepare a soil suitable to the growth of Hellenistic syncretism. Even after this secular *prae-paratio* the several oriental religions, though organized and pressing a zealous propaganda, failed in more than one instance to strike root in Greece. Such considerations as these, supported by a formidable array of facts brought to light by the researches of recent years in the field of Hellenistic religions, counsel conservatism respecting the venturesome guesses of certain partisans who flourished a generation ago. This is preëminently a matter in which the ark of science is in the keeping of the sceptics. The case is similar to that of the enthusiasm for literary reminiscences; for there is a real difference, though it may be difficult in individual instances to distinguish, between a phrase that suggested to the mind of an author an imitation or an allusion, and one that by whatever inscrutable links of association may serve to connect it with another in the mind of a reader. An old friend used to speak of such so-called reminiscences as 'literary illusions', and it behooves us similarly to guard against historical illusions.

The other two introductory chapters, which deal with the history of Greek thought, are open at many points to quite as serious objection. In looking over the pencilled pages I am struck with the number of statements which provoked a protest or a query. Some are indeed debatable questions, but even in regard to Plato and Aristotle, where one may speak with a larger measure of assurance, there are slips which would merit censure if they belonged to the central theme of the book. One might have expected better things even here from a pupil of Henry Jackson. The worst fault of these chapters is that they are superficial and perfunctory. The same charge cannot be leveled at the chapter (XVII.) on the Stoic strain in Christianity; for though the author is confessedly trenching on debatable ground, he writes with obvious interest and with first-hand knowledge. The chapter on Stoicism in Roman history and literature gives an instructive survey of the higher morality and serious thought under the Republic and the Empire. One feels, however, and the author is obviously himself aware, that the term 'Stoicism' is at times employed to cover what is in no way technically to be so regarded. Thus when the Stoicism of Vergil is discussed, much that was only the common heritage of Greek thought is ascribed to the influence of the Porch.



It is in fact difficult to define Stoicism. Professor Arnold ranges it among the religions, and claims for it only a slight degree of originality of thought. It were better to regard it as essentially a temper of soul—the strenuous, heroic temper, coupled with a robust will to think and act consistently and to subordinate all to the supreme ideal. At Rome it came to be the practical faith of many a true man who acknowledged no allegiance to the school; just as to-day in Christian lands the thought and conduct of men in no way allied to the Church conform to its central doctrines. Whether or not one should speak of such men as Stoics and Christians, is a matter of definitions.

If one cannot agree with all the positions taken by our author in the accessories to his central theme, it is a pleasure to be able to speak in unqualified praise of his account of Stoicism itself. The matter is everywhere well arranged and digested, and his summary of the Stoic doctrines is the best available in any single volume. For most readers it will be entirely adequate, though some will no doubt be disappointed by the brief exposition of the Stoic psychology and logic. For such Professor Arnold is prepared, because he clearly shares the distaste of his Roman authorities for the subtleties of logic; and, writing primarily of the Stoicism of the Empire, he has a clear right to adopt the perspective of the time. In the same way he may be excused for bestowing relatively little attention on the representatives of the period of transition,—on Panaetius and Posidonius,—in whose opinions students of Stoicism are at present generally most engrossed.

What one may perhaps most justly deplore is that our author, who admits the scant originality of thought and the failure of Stoicism to reduce to a thoroughly consistent system the body of opinions appropriated from predecessors and contemporaries, should not more clearly have pointed out the organizing principle of selection, although he possessed the key in the perception that Stoicism was essentially a temper of soul. This is the force operating toward unity in every system, and it is peculiarly interesting to follow its application in a system like that of the Stoics, who acknowledged no static unity, but found the principle of organization in the *τόνος* which works in all things.

Since this central doctrine of Stoicism is even now imperfectly understood it may be desirable to devote a little space to the consideration of its origin and applications, particularly as it well illustrates the curious development of concepts. Stein (*Die Psychologie der Stoa*, II., 129) and Baeumcker (*Das Problem der Materie*, 351, n. 3) have traced the Stoic doctrine of the *τόνος* to Hippocrates; most writers appear to have paid little attention to the question. Singular as it may seem, no one so far as I am aware has sought its origin, where one would most naturally expect to discover it, in the physics of Heraclitus. There was a brief reference to the problem in my article, *Qualitative Change*



in Pre-Socratic Philosophy (Archiv für Gesch. der Philos., XIX.), 354, n. 55.

In Heraclitus occurs the conception of the *ἐναντιοδρομία* by which the cosmic fire or *ἀναθυμίασις* not only periodically constitutes and destroys the world but also maintains an unstable equilibrium in individual things. This equilibrium is variously called *παλίντροπος* and *παλίντονος ἁρμονίη*. In fr. 51, Diels gives the preference to the form *παλίντροπος ἁρμονίη ὅκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης*, because of Parmenides, fr. 6, 9 *πάντων δὲ παλίντροπός ἐστι κέλευθος*, although he admits that the variant *παλίντονος* is equally well attested and finds support in the phrase *παλίντονον τόξον* current from Homer onwards. But there is also a passage in Plato's Republic 439 B which, though commonly disregarded, seems to support the reading *παλίντονος*: *ὥσπερ γε οἶμαι τοῦ τοξότου οὐ καλῶς ἔχει λέγειν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἅμα αἱ χεῖρες τὸ τόξον ἀπωθοῦνται τε καὶ προσέλκονται, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἄλλη μὲν ἡ ἀπωθοῦσα χεὶρ, ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ προσαγομένη*. Hippocrates, *Περὶ διαίτης*, I, 6 clearly shows that the thought was derived from Heraclitus. Although one might have been inclined to suspect the influence of Stoic tradition in the form *παλίντονος*, the suspicion is shown to be unfounded; and we have reason to approve the course of Bywater, who recognizes two fragments (XLV. and LVI.) instead of one.

According to Heraclitus, then, an object as empirically known is constituted by streams of fire (*ἀναθυμίασις* or, as Hippocrates and the Stoics commonly call it, *πνεῦμα*), regarded as entering and issuing from it. The object is of course in perpetual flux, and strictly speaking it could not be said, either from the Heraclitic or from the Stoic point of view, to exist, but only to be becoming; but practically things were conceived as constituted by the affluent stream and as dissipated by the effluents. It is the latter that strike the senses and determine the qualities which we ascribe to things. If we think of this conception as brought into relation to the Peripatetic distinction between essential (permanent) and accidental (variable) properties, we obtain the Stoic doctrine of the *τόνος* as we find it stated by Nemesius, *De nat. hom.*, 29 Ellebod. *οἱ Στωϊκοὶ (λέγουσι) τονικὴν τινα εἶναι κίνησιν περὶ τὰ σώματα, εἰς τὸ ἔσω ἅμα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔξω κινουμένην, καὶ τὴν μὲν εἰς τὸ ἔξω μεγεθῶν καὶ ποιότητων ἀποτελεσματικὴν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔσω ἐνώσεως καὶ οὐσίας*. The 'tension' varies according to the intensity of this reflux motion, the motion being much more rapid at the periphery of things (as in the cosmic fire and air) where the fire is kindling, and becoming sluggish at the center (as in water and earth) where it suffers extinction; cf. Censorinus, *De die natali*, I, 1, p. 75 Jahn: *tenorem, qui rarescente materia a medio tendat ad summum, eadem concrescente rursus a summo referatur ad medium*. But just as Heraclitus applied conceptions which had a clear application only to physical things equally to mental concepts and moral ideals, so also did the Stoics embrace all things within the scope of their *κίνησις τονική*.

As applied to the soul, it was conceived as the *intentio animi*, the foundation of all the virtues, as the vices are forms of remissio, or the extinction of the divine fire in the soul. Here we find the highest expression of the tense temper of the Stoic, who might have said, in the words recorded in John 5, 17, *ὁ πατήρ μου ἔως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι*. The influence of the Stoic temper on the theories of rhetoric and style still calls for investigation. In this respect the treatise *Περὶ ὕψους*, with its emphasis on *ὕψος* and *πάθος* and its cosmopolitanism, presents a most attractive point of departure, although it also raises many questions not easy to answer.

But this review has already grown too long. In closing it should be said that the book is well printed and contains few typographical errors, except in the bibliography, which is not worthy of its place in the volume.

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BELZNER, E., *Homerische Probleme*. I. Die kulturellen Verhältnisse der Odyssee als kritische Instanz. Mit einem Nachwort (Aristarchea) von A. Roemer. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1911, VI, 202 pp. M. 5.

Dr. Belzner sets for himself the task of investigating the culture-stages of the Odyssee and from these stages to form an argument for its origin. According to the author the poet or poets of the Odyssee had the gift of abstraction, so there is often a distinct difference between the customs described and those of the age of the poet. When the poet speaks in his own person or uses similes he frequently refers to stages of culture different from those current in the Epic Age, or the assumed period of the Trojan War. There are thus two cultural groups, the one of the poet's age, the Homeric culture, the one of the age described, the epic culture, e. g., the poet refers to the boiling of meat, but warriors never eat boiled meat, the trumpet is mentioned in a simile, but is not used in the action of the poems, and there is a similar difference in matters of geography, cosmic beliefs, varieties of food, riding of horses, and the use of crowns or garlands.

The fact that the poems move between the conditions of the Homeric Age and the assumed Epic Age makes it impossible to divide the different parts of the poem on the basis of culture-stages.

The Odyssee is subjected to a careful test in regard to the following: Kings and Nobles, Material of Arms, Method of Arming, Riding of Horses, Dwellings, Dress, Food, Dowry, Burial, Writing, Temples, Images, and Religion. Each one of these divisions is treated with such thoroughness that a summary

of the results obtained in each is impossible, so I shall limit myself to his treatment of the first two, Kings and Nobles, Material of Arms. The arguments advanced by Finsler to show that in the Iliad the king rules by divine authority, in the Odyssey he is chosen by the nobility from their own number, have been generally accepted and have passed over into the stock of admitted facts, e. g., Christ, Gr. Lit. Gesch.<sup>6</sup> 57. Belzner has tested every relevant passage in the Odyssey and finds that the king rules solely by the grace of God. "If Odysseus were really the creature of the nobles, why did they not choose a substitute during the long years of his absence, and why was there no meeting of the assembly"? A positive proof that the king ruled by divine right is found in the words:

α 386: μὴ σέ γ' ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ βασιλῆα Κρονίων  
ποιήσκειν, ὃ τοι γενεῇ πατρώϊόν ἐστι.

390: καὶ κεν τοῦτ' ἐθέλοιμι Διὸς γε δίδόντος ἀρέσθαι.

The author finds that all references to sovereignty in Homer belong to the same social stratum. Here another argument of the Chhorizontes proves futile when fairly tested.

It is generally admitted that bronze is the older, iron the later metal, and on this basis has been built the theory that those parts of Homer which mention iron are later than those in which only bronze appears. The essence of Belzner's arguments is:

In the Bible the weapons are generally of bronze, the head of Goliath's spear was of iron, but the rest of his armor was bronze. In the book of Job armor and weapons alternate between bronze and iron, XX 24; "He shall flee from the iron weapon", XLI 27; "He esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood". Cf. Gen. IV 22; "Tubal-cain, an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron".

In the construction of the Ark and the Altar, Ex. XXXVII, XXXVIII, gold, silver, brass, and wood were used, but no iron, and so in Rev. IX 20, "idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood", but no mention of iron. In a chest of the sixth century B. C. found in Cyprus there are offerings to Athena of plates of silver and weapons of bronze, but no iron. Here and in the passages quoted iron was evidently too little valued to be used in religious offerings, and accordingly in the relative use of iron and bronze appears a new principle, the *principle of value*. This is alone the reason for the age of iron following the age of bronze in Greek Mythology. Hence the warrior centuries after the discovery of iron felt that his weapons were too noble to be made out of the cheaper metal, and so continued to carry bronze arms. That warriors sometimes preferred the more costly to the harder metal is shown in the fact that Glaucus, Z 236, and Rhesus, K 439, carried weapons of gold.

A second principle, less important than the one of value, is

that of *poetic variety*, e. g., Psalms CVII 16, "For he hath broken the gates of brass and cut the bars of iron".

γ 2: οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον. ρ 565: σιδήρεον οὐρανόν.

P 424: σιδήρειος δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς/χάλκεον οὐρανὸν ἴκε.

Just as brazen is used in modern poetry as a general expression for metal, so in Homer bronze was a more poetic as well as more archaic word than iron; therefore no inference in regard to the use of iron and bronze in the poet's own age can be drawn from the relative frequency of the appearance of these words. It pleases me that the author accepts as genuine the proverbial phrase:

αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος.

Belzner believes that iron was in general use in the Homeric Age and this phrase is but the statement of a poet who projected a modern proverb into an earlier stratum of culture.

Had Homer been written in prose the mention of iron might have surpassed in frequency that of bronze. The more frequent mention of bronze is due to the principle of value, poetic variety, and intentional archaizing. In regard to the sphere of the metals all parts of the Odyssey reflect the same stage of culture.

After an examination of the cultural elements, as named above, he finds that the Odyssey everywhere gives evidence of composition at a single epoch, and that it is impossible to assign any part of the Odyssey to an earlier or later period than the whole, "vielmehr weisen uns alle Beobachtungen über die Kultur des Epos auf die Annahme einer einheitlichen Konzeption hin".

This book is another illustration of the fact that most of the arguments of Higher Criticism crumble as soon as they are carefully examined. Homeric scholars can expect much in the future from the author of this sane and accurate investigation.

Belzner evidently was in close touch with Professor Roemer who adds a Nachwort in regard to Aristarchus.

Professor Roemer by reason of his writings in various publications, but especially in recent numbers of the Rheinisches Museum, has become the leading interpreter of the Alexandrians, and has been able to show that the work of Aristarchus deserves even higher praise than that given it by Lehrs or Ludwich. In this treatise Roemer emphasizes the sanity of judgment shown by Aristarchus in the discussion of the dowry and writing in Homer. Cauer relies much on Roemer in his last edition of the Grundfragen, e. g., p. 133, he quotes him in regard to the doubtful statement of the scholiast that Iliad XI once followed IX, also to show that possibly the Alexandrians knew of the recension of Peisistratus. Roemer referring to his being thus quoted by Cauer says, p. 155: Es ist mir absolut unbegreiflich, wie Cauer dazu kommt zu sprechen. Das gerade Gegenteil ist der Fall. It is astounding that such a scholar as Cauer should

make so capital an error in quotation in order to advance another error in regard to Homer. Wilamowitz has recently given the glory to Zenodotus of being the creator of the great Alexandrian recension. Aristarch durfte nicht mehr *recensui* sagen, sondern nur *recognovi* und erkannte das durch seine Zeichen, die auf Zenodot verwiesen, auch an. Sitz. der kgl. preuss. Akad. 1910, 376.

This sentence has led Roemer to a thorough investigation of the relative importance of Zenodotus, Aristophanes, and Aristarchus, and he reaches this conclusion: Zenodotus and Aristophanes were not competent to produce a text according to strictly scientific methods; being slaves of prejudice and false opinion, depending solely on superficial observation, they did not and could not produce an edition of Homer of any high value. Their failures helped Aristarchus to discover the true method, so that by infinite labor and most careful observations he founded the genuine science of philology.

He says in regard to Wilamowitz, p. 171, Da hatte nun Aristarch einen sehr verbrecherischen Gedanken und meinte: Ehe man kritisiert und konjiziert, sollte man vorher etwas studiert haben und beging die unglaubliche Torheit, sich darauf hin seinen Homer anzusehen. Freilich durch diesen Irrwahn, dass man studieren müsse, hat er sich den Weg gänzlich verbaut zur "schöpferischen Kritik". Die neueste Offenbarung von Wilamowitz ist also—bei einem andern würde ich vielleicht sagen Wind, bei Wilamowitz sage ich—nur Phantasie, jedenfalls eher alles andere, als Wissenschaft.

I cannot read the scholarly work of Professor Roemer without feeling that he has assigned the Alexandrians to their true positions. It is only by the accurate observation of all the facts according to the methods followed by Dr. Belzner and Professor Roemer that we can hope for the final solution of the Homeric problem.

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Thucydides, Book IV. Edited by A. W. SPRATT. Cambridge, At the University Press: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912.

Mr. Spratt's edition of the Fourth Book of Thucydides follows the same lines as his Third and Sixth Books, which have found and deserved wide acceptance. A special feature is the diligence with which he has noted the phenomena of moods and tenses. This, I presume, is what he calls in his preface 'milk for babes', and I, for one, have no reason to quarrel with his preference for condensed milk. There is no neater statement of the



*φθάνω*-rule than one finds on c. 4, 6: *φθάνω* exacts from its participle a rigid synchronism, which is the sum and substance of A. J. P. XII 76. The emphasis thus laid by Mr. Spratt on Thukydides' exactness in the use of moods and tenses goes far to redeem the historian from the charge of imperfect mastery of the language, and this exactness is matched, as might easily be shown, by exactness in other lines.

The critical apparatus is very full, such an apparatus as would have been welcome many years ago when I took up the Fourth Book in the Greek Seminary, moved thereto by Rutherford's edition (cf. A. J. P. XV 115), which is hardly ever mentioned now except as one of the aberrations of a scholar, noted for his aberrancy. When Rutherford's Fourth Book appeared, a well-known French reviewer remarked that he had out-Cobeted Cobet, and Mr. Marchant, who when he edited the Second Book was overborne by his chief's hectoring ways—Hector is a favourite Scottish name (cf. A. J. P. XVIII 244)—has since learned, as he confessed in his edition of the Third Book, that 'a long acquaintance with MSS has caused <him> to withdraw entirely from the opinion of those who detect incessant interpolation and wholesale corruption in the MSS <of Thukydides>.' True, Mr. Murray, in his *History of Greek Literature*, has still a good word to say for Rutherford, but as Mr. Grundy has put the case (l. c., p. 48): 'The essay was peculiarly unfortunate; the more so as the textual corruption was ascribed in the main to copyists of the second and later centuries A. D., and the first century (Oxyrrhynchus) text agrees closely with the received text of the present day'. To the same purport Sir John Sandys in his *History of Classical Scholarship* I<sup>2</sup> 285, and another critic, Sir William Ramsay, wrote some months ago with cruel frankness (*Expositor*, June, 1911): The main value of <Rutherford's edition> simply is to prove that its initial principle is false.

Mr. Spratt's Introduction to the Fourth Book is a puzzle. He gives only the prelude to the Peloponnesian War, whereas one could expect at least a summary of the first six years of the War; and in that prelude he contents himself with a foot-note in which he remarks that 'modern criticism has suggested a fourth cause of war, the commercial rivalry of Corinth and Athens'—a brief mention which will be a distinct disappointment to Messrs. Cornford and Grundy and their surviving forerunners (A. J. P. XXVIII 356; XXXII 482). Mr. Spratt does not commit himself, but I imagine that he would sympathize with Mr. Zimmern, who, in the Preface to his *Greek Commonwealth*, says: 'It has long been clear to historians that economic circumstances had a good deal to do with the Peloponnesian War; yet we have no right to pass from this to an explanation of the whole struggle in modern economic terms'. It has been my own fortune to live through a great war, *αἰσθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ*, and I know how easy it would be

to represent our Civil War as the result of the invention of the cotton gin—it has been so represented—as the result of the machinations of an overseas Corinth—it has been so represented—as a question of tariffs, as the conflict between two systems of labor, the tyranny of the boss of a mill and the tyranny of the master of a plantation, white ‘mudsill’ against black ‘mudsill’. My own little contribution to the literature of the war (*Atlantic Monthly*, Jan. 1892, Sept. 1897) has been lightly put aside in certain quarters as a ‘poetical view’, but poetry is more philosophical than history, and I explained my Civil War out of Thukydidēs.

B. L. G.

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Yiddish dictionary, containing all of the Hebrew and Chaldaic elements of the Yiddish language, illustrated with proverbs and idiomatic expressions, compiled by Dr. C. D. SPIVAK, and SOL. BLOOMGARDEN (Yehoash). New York, 1911, pp. xxxi + 340.

The dictionary of the Hebrew elements in the Yiddish language compiled by Dr. Spivak and the well-known Yiddish lyric poet Bloomgarden (generally known by his nom de plume *Yehoash*) is a fine piece of scholarly work, and is deserving of much praise. It fills a long-felt want. It is, therefore, advisable to call attention to several of its characteristic features:

(1) Completeness. It is the first complete dictionary of the Hebrew elements in Yiddish which has thus far been published. The several older dictionaries are rare and entirely inadequate.<sup>1</sup> The omissions in the Spivak and Bloomgarden dictionary are few and unimportant. Of these the following may be mentioned: *megabber* (sein) “to bury”, *menadder* (sein) “to vow a contribution”, *megašsem* (sein) “to materialize, embody”, *menaššeq* (sein) “to kiss” (vulgar), *beteba’* “by nature, naturally” *asmakhla* (Talm.) “proof, support” (rare in Yiddish), *otho maqom* (Talm.) “pudenda” (rare in Yiddish), *meba’er* “commentator”, and a few others.<sup>2</sup>

(2) The explanations are brief but lucid and illuminating. Owing to this feature the compilers have been able to compress much material in little space.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly the Judeo-German-English dictionary of Alexander Harkavy (New York, 1898; 6th edition, 1910) is inadequate as far as the Hebrew elements in Yiddish are concerned.

<sup>2</sup> A few words appear in the wrong place: *meba’er hamets* (sein) should be treated on p. 140<sup>a</sup>, after *mebalbel* (sein), instead of on p. 139<sup>a</sup>, and *matteketh* “metal” should be given after *mithkarwen* instead of after *methiqdth*.

(3) The Spivak and Bloomgarden dictionary is exceptionally accurate and authoritative.

(4) Owing to their judicious selection of phrases and proverbs, distributed throughout the whole work, the compilers have made their dictionary interesting reading material, a characteristic rarely found in dictionaries.

In the appendix of the work the compilers have given us a list of about four hundred popular Hebrew proverbs alphabetically arranged. It is to be regretted that they have not given the exact reference after each proverb. A number of grammatical remarks are given in the introduction.

The compilers have admirably carried out the twofold aim which they had in mind in the preparation of this work (cf. preface, p. ix): They have furnished an indispensable help to readers of Yiddish who have but a scanty knowledge of the Hebrew language or none at all. Moreover, they have collected much valuable material for the future investigator of the Hebrew elements in the Yiddish language.

The work will be of interest also to Hebraists. It is interesting and instructive to observe the changes which the Hebrew words have undergone in Yiddish, both in form and meaning.

From a perusal of this work we are strongly impressed by the important part the Hebrew language has played in the formation and development of the Yiddish language. Quantitatively the Hebrew language furnished approximately twenty per cent of the entire Yiddish vocabulary;<sup>1</sup> but qualitatively it is of much greater importance. The majority of the Hebrew words in Yiddish are expressive of religious, moral, and philosophical ideas; or are words intimately connected with Jewish history, life, and thought.<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew words in Yiddish are borrowed not only from the Bible, but also from the Talmud, Midrashim, medieval Hebrew literature, and especially from the liturgy of the Synagogue. The philological investigation of the Hebrew elements in Yiddish is still in its infancy. To the future growth of this investigation Spivak and Bloomgarden may be regarded as having given a strong impetus.

AARON EMBER.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. M. Piné's, *Histoire de la littérature Judéo-Allemande* (Paris, 1910), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. the very interesting article on Hebrew and Yiddish by Prof. Israel Davidson of the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York, in the January number of *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, p. 292.

## REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, Vol. XXXIII (1909), pp. 163-303.

Pp. 163-178. H. de la Ville de Mirmont. The Date of Seneca's Voyage to Egypt. In the *Ad Helviam*, which was written not long after his banishment in 41 A. D., Seneca tells us that he accompanied his mother's sister on the fateful voyage from Egypt in the course of which she lost her husband, who had been prefect of Egypt for sixteen years. The problem that presents itself is the determination of the date of this voyage. Three solutions have been proposed. Justus Lipsius advanced the hypothesis, which was accepted by a number of eminent scholars, that the Vitrasius Pollio of Dio Cassius 58, 19, who was the predecessor of A. Avillius Flaccus in the prefecture of Egypt, was the uncle of Seneca. But this hypothesis, besides involving a number of highly improbable assumptions, was based upon Letronne's false restoration of a lacuna in CIG. 4963, and had to be abandoned when, in 1900, Stein supplied the correct reading. A second hypothesis, which was advanced by Borghesi and which also received the sanction of eminent scholars, regarded the Aemilius Rectus of Dio Cassius 57, 10 as the husband of Seneca's aunt, and places the term of his prefecture as 1 A. D.—17 A. D. Fatal to this hypothesis is the fact that according to certain inscriptions P. Octavius was prefect of Egypt in the years 1 A. D. and 3 A. D., and that, in the year 10 to 11 A. D., this office was held by C. Julius Aquila. The third solution is that of Cantarelli, who tries to show that C. Galerius was the only prefect that held office for sixteen years and that he was appointed in 16 A. D. and recalled in 31. This view is based upon the following data: Aemilius Rectus was prefect in 14 A. D. (Dio Cassius); he was succeeded by L. Seius Strabo (Dio Cassius); C. Galerius was prefect in 22 A. D. (CIG. 4711); and Vitrasius Pollio died as prefect in 32 (Dio Cassius). To obtain a period of sixteen years for C. Galerius, Cantarelli is obliged to assume that the prefects L. Seius Strabo and Vitrasius Pollio both died shortly after reaching their province. De la Ville de Mirmont concludes that, since the first two hypotheses are out of the question, there is no other alternative than to accept the third hypothesis, from which it would follow that the date of Seneca's return from Egypt was 32 A. D. The writer thereupon addresses himself to the task of showing that the family of the Galerii possessed sufficient influence to enable the widow of the devoted servant of Tiberius to secure from Caligula the office of quaestor for her nephew.

Pp. 179-182. E. Cavaignac, On a Passage of the Letter of Philip to the Citizens of Larissa—Philip and the Roman Institutions. The passage in question, which was written in 215/4 B. C., is οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι . . . οἱ καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, ὅταν ἐλευθερώσωσιν, προσδεχόμενοι εἰς τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων με[ταδι]δόντες· καὶ διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου οὐ μόνον τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα ἐπηυξήκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποικίας (σ)χεδὸν [εἰς ἐβ]δομήκοντα τόπους ἐκπεπόμφασιν (IG. IX, 2, 517). Scholars have called attention to the inaccuracies of this passage and, above all, to the gross exaggeration of the number of the Roman colonies. Granting the correctness of this criticism, Cavaignac nevertheless thinks that the passage rests upon a basis of fact, and that it records the impressions that Philip had gained of the reforms which took place at Rome in 220, in the censorship of C. Flaminius. The change by which the freedmen, who had up to that time been distributed among all of the tribes, were thenceforth confined to the four city tribes, impressed upon Philip the numerical strength of the Roman freedmen and the liberal treatment accorded to them by the Romans, and, on the other hand, the reduction of the number of the centuries of the first class from 80 to 70 (35 seniores and 35 juniores, each pair of centuries of seniors and juniors corresponding to a tribe), furnished the number 70, though Philip made the serious mistake of confounding the colony with the tribe. This confusion was probably due to the difference of procedure in the planting of a Roman and a Greek colony. When a Roman colony was sent out, it was either enrolled in one of the existing tribes, or a new tribe was created, whereas in a Greek colony the number of the tribes of the mother city was faithfully reflected.

Pp. 183-204. Charles Joret, Seven Unpublished Letters of Villoison, Genêt, Hennin, Senebier and the Geneva MS 44 of the Iliad. The letters here published belong to the correspondence of M. Hennin. They were written during Villoison's stay at Venice, and embrace three letters of Villoison (one to M. Genêt, chief of the bureau of interpreters at Paris, and two to M. Hennin, first secretary of the French foreign office), three of Hennin (two to Villoison, and one to Senebier), and one of Senebier to M. Hennin. All these letters were occasioned by Villoison's desire to borrow the celebrated Geneva MS of the Iliad, and they therefore constitute a valuable supplement to the letters of Villoison that were published by Nicole on pages 59-70 of this volume of the Revue. Villoison appealed to Genêt to ask Hennin to use his influence with the Geneva government to obtain for Villoison the loan of their precious MS for a few months. The Geneva authorities, however, seemed disinclined to allow the MS to leave their city, and after a few letters had passed among the persons interested, Villoison, who had in the meantime succeeded in borrowing the valuable Hamburg MS of the Iliad and had obtained a copy of the Vatican scholia of Por-



phyry, reached the conclusion that in view of these large accessions to his material he would be able to do without the Geneva MS.

Pp. 205-220. Book Notices.

Pp. 221-224. Pierre Boudreaux, A New MS of the Aristotelian Divisions. Mutschmann, who in addition to the *δαιρέσεις* preserved by Diogenes Laertius, published also the collection of the codex Marcianus 257 of the 14th century, did not know that this second collection was contained also in the Parisinus graecus 39 (ff. 168 v.-172 v.), in a handwriting of the 13th century. The cause of this ignorance is probably the fact that Omont, in his *Inventaire sommaire*, described the contents of ff. 167-174 of the Paris MS as *Fragmenta historica et theologica*. Although thirty of the divisions are missing in the new MS, and there are other omissions and errors, yet, with the aid of the Parisinus, false readings of the Marcianus may often be corrected, intrusions eliminated, and the text of lacunae restored.

P. 224. C.-E. Ruelle, Aristot., Probl. physica, IV, 13; p. 878 a 14-15. For *ἀ φέρουσιν* (*αἴρουνσι*) read *ἀ ἀφαιροῦσιν*.

Pp. 225-237. Louis Havet, Notes on Plautus. Critical notes on Mil. 894, 917-919, 1005, 1038, 1054, 1062, 1066, 1071, 1080, 1138, 1177, 1178, 1190, 1192, 1197, 1204-1207, 1276, 1279, 1313-1314, 1315, 1357, 1358, 1380 (and Rud. 222), 1384, 1388, 1389, 1398, 1399, 1408, 1411-1412, 1413, 1421, 1426.

Pp. 238-245, L. Parmentier, Eunomius in the Rôle of Tachygrapher. In Theodoret's Ecclesiastical History, IV, 18 (ed. Gaisford), Protogenes is described as *τὰ ἐκ νόμου γράμματα πεπαιδευμένος καὶ γράφειν εἰς τάχος ἡσκημένος*. Whilst *ἐκ νόμου* is the reading of a number of MSS, the others have *εὐνομίου*, and *Εὐνομίου* is the reading of the editio princeps. *ἐκ νόμου* makes no sense and the attempts to explain it have been unsatisfactory. The MS tradition points to *Εὐνομίου* as the original reading, but the meaning of the phrase *τὰ Εὐνομίου γράμματα* seems early to have been lost. The Eunomius referred to is the celebrated leader of the Anomoean Arians, Eunomius of Cappadocia, the pupil and friend of Aetius. There are several sources of information as to the fact that Eunomius started out in life as a tachygrapher. One of the most valuable of these sources, Nicetas Acominatus V, 31, is here pointed out for the first time, and the Greek text, as found in the Parisinus graecus 1234, f. 112 v. (13th cent.), is cited. The facts narrated by Nicetas must have been derived from the lost treatise of Theodore of Mopsuestia against Eunomius. In view of Eunomius' attainments in the line of tachygraphy, it would appear that *τὰ Εὐνομίου γράμματα* means 'the Eunomian characters', 'the Eunomian system of shorthand'. Tachygraphy formed a

regular part of the elementary instruction at school, and Parmentier augments the proofs that may be adduced in support of this statement by citing Symeon, Vita S. Luciani, I, 4, a passage from which we learn that St. Lucian also, in early life, was a tachygrapher and conducted a school at Antioch.

Pp. 245-246. L. Parmentier, Note on a New Fragmentary MS of the Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret. The existence of the new fragment, consisting of ff. 225-226 of ms. suppl. gr. 1248 of the Bibliothèque nationale of Paris, was pointed out by Serruys (see above, report on pp. 80-85). The handwriting is of the 9th century. Professor Papadopoulos-Kerameus of St. Petersburg possesses a larger fragment (26 leaves) of the same MS. The Paris fragment fits into a gap of the Petersburg fragment. The value of the MS consists chiefly in showing that the mistakes, revisions, and lacunae that are common to two younger MSS of Theodoret, G (13th cent.) and S (12th cent.), go back to a period that antedates the writing of the Paris-Petersburg MS.

Pp. 247-254. René Pichon, Magic in the Fourth Book of the Aeneid. The object of this paper is to give an explanation of the unusual prominence accorded to magic in the Dido episode of the fourth book of the Aeneid. The author claims that if the magic rites were introduced simply as a ruse to deceive Anna as to Dido's real intent, there would have been no need of the fulness of detail that makes this passage one of the most important sources of information for the student of ancient magic. Rejecting Sabbadini's seductive hypothesis that the magical portion of the narrative did not form a part of the original design of the poet, but was subsequently added to satisfy the popular craving for magic, the writer expresses the view that the Dido of tradition must have been a sorceress, and that Vergil was therefore practically compelled to adopt this character for the heroine. Indeed, the words of Dido to her sister Anna, *testor, cara, deos . . . magicas invitam accingier artis*, must be interpreted as a sort of apology for the poet himself, whose scruples of conscience had been aroused as to the propriety of a national poet portraying practices that were forbidden by the laws of the state. Pichon further ventures to put forth the following hypothesis. Following a clue of Servius' commentary, he thinks that Dido did not in the Aeneid figure for the first time in the national epic, but that she had previously appeared in the *Bellum Punicum* of Naevius, not, however, in the character in which she was to appear in the Aeneid, but in a character similar to that of Circe in the Homeric *Odyssey*. At the time of the composition of the *Bellum Punicum*, the *Odyssey*, which had been translated by Livius Andronicus, had become the epic model, and the adventures of Aeneas and Dido were patterned after the adventures of Odysseus and Circe. In the time of Vergil, on the other hand, the knowledge of Alexandrine litera-

ture had spread among the Romans, and, as a result of the influence of Catullus and of the change in Roman customs, the love story had found its way into epic poetry. Vergil, therefore, yielding to the taste of the times, pictures Dido as a lovesick woman that is deserted by her lover and seeks solace in death, but, mindful of the Dido of tradition, the poet retains as much of the original sorceress as seems proper, without, however, being able everywhere to effect a perfect amalgamation of the two characters. But there is another point in which Vergil has departed from tradition. Varro says that it was Anna, not Dido, that fell in love with Aeneas and killed herself after Aeneas' departure. A trace of this version seems to have been left in the verses 420 sqq., *Miserae hoc tamen unum | Exsequere, Anna, mihi—solam nam perfidus ille | Te colere*, etc. There is thus manifested in the composition of the Dido episode a spirit of independence that is coupled with a desire to incorporate as far as possible all the materials of current tradition. This combination of originality and conservatism is a characteristic of the art of Vergil, and may nowhere be studied to better advantage than at the close of the fourth book of the Aeneid.

Pp. 255-264. Gustave Bardy, *Septuagint Papyri*. The article is divided into four sections. The first section consists of a catalogue, brought up to date, of all the papyrus texts of the Septuagint. The second section is devoted to showing that the origin of the Ecclesiastical Psalter must be sought elsewhere than in Egypt and most probably in Syria, whence it spread to the Occident and even gained a foothold in Egypt. In the third section the author raises the question as to the origin of the Lucianic recension, and adduces evidence from the papyri to show that even at a very early date there were in circulation various recensions of the Greek text of the Old Testament, this text having been subjected to a series of revisions to bring it into conformity with contemporary Hebrew texts. The fourth and concluding section presents traces of the influence of the Hexapla upon the texts of some of the papyri.

P. 264. Eusèbe Vassel, *On a Passage of Pliny the Elder*. By reference to a superstition that prevails among the natives of Tunis, who believe that praise forebodes evil, the writer shows that the word *laudatio* in Pliny, N. H. VII, 2, 8 means *praise*, not *paroles enchantées*, as Littré translates it.

Pp. 265-273. Georges Ramain, *On the Attribution of the Replies and the Order of the Verses in a few passages of Plautus*. The passages considered are *Amphitruo* 794-800, *Casina* 402-405, *Curculio* 487-525, *Poenulus* 313-316, *Pseudolus* 349-350, and *Trinummus* 1155.

Pp. 274-303. Book Notices.

C. W. E. MILLER.

Glotta: Zeitschrift für Griechische und Lateinische Sprache.  
Herausgegeben von PAUL KRETSCHMER und FRANZ  
SKUTSCH. I Band. Göttingen, 1909.

Pp. 1-9. F. Buecheler, Grammatica et epigraphica. Collection of notes on evidence from inscriptional sources bearing on points of Latin diction; (p. 6) several cases of inf. for impv.

Pp. 9-51. Kretschmer, Zur Geschichte der griechischen Dialekte.

1) Ionier und Achäer (9-34). Cannot accept Ed. Meyer's view that the Ionians were entirely a hybrid people, and their dialect a mongrel dialect, and that both originated only in Asia Minor. Ionic is no "Mischdialekt"; the Ionians were a distinct people who preceded the "Achaean" population in the Greek mainland. This does not imply anything as to the age of the name *Ἰάονες*, which as an inclusive name in its later sense probably was first used among the islanders. To this pre-Achaean or "Ionian" population may perhaps be reckoned "Stämme, für die achäische oder westgriechische Herkunft nicht zu erweisen ist", as e. g., the Dryopians, and particularly the *Pelasgians*. *Πελασγοί* is derived (following Crain) from *πέλαγος*, weak stem *πέλαγος* + *κος* (-γσκ-> σγ also in *μίσγω* <\*μυγ-σκω et al.) and means "people of the plain" (OHG. *flah*, OSl. *ploskŭ*, etc.). They were the people found in Greece by the Achaeans and regarded by them as autochthonous, though recognized in Homer as being at least not wholly alien to the Achaeans. (So also Ed. Meyer.) They were in reality part of the pre-Achaean (Ionian) Greek population, intermingled with the pre-Greek inhabitants, but Greek (Ionic) in language. The Achaeans then were the second, not the first, wave of Indo-European invasion into Greece, and the Dorians (West Greeks) the third. This same succession was deduced by Reisch from archeological evidence in Crete (p. 21). It is to be noted that the historic Ionians seem also to have been connected with Crete; many of their nobility derived their lineage thence. In some points the Arcadian-Cyprian dialects agree with Ionic against not only Doric, but the more closely related north-Achaean (Aeolic) dialects. This K. attributes to influence from the speech of the (prehistoric) Ionic neighbors of these southern "Achaeans", who in penetrating into the south came more into contact with the Pelasgians (Ionians) than their northern brethren. But even the Aeolic of the north shows "Ionic" traits (σ for Doric-West Greek τ, etc.) which Doric, for instance, lacks.

2) Die Apocope in den griechischen Dialekten (pp. 34-59). In opposition to Joh. Schmidt, who explains the frequent dialectic disappearance of a final vowel of a preposition before an initial

consonant as due to proclisis, K. ingeniously tries to explain all such cases as due to various other factors.

(a) For West Greek he says that apocope mainly appears with *ἀν(ά)* and *παρ(ά)*; these he explains by a "law of dissimilation", that of two similar vowels in neighboring syllables, if a nasal or liquid appears in their proximity, one (the *unaccented* one!) is suppressed. Sporadic cases of other prepositions (*κατ'* before dentals, etc.) are explained in various other ways (haplogy, etc.).

(b) The Achaean dialects (Aeol., Arcad., etc.) go a little farther in apocope, but mainly along the same lines.

(c) In Ionic-Attic there was properly no apocope; the few instances are either Aeolisms or Dorisms, or are due to haplogy or the like.

The preposition *πρός* (Ion.-Aeol.), *πός* (Arcad.), is not to be derived from *πορί* (*πορί*). *πορί* (Skt. *prati*) is IE. \**pro + ti* (BB. 27. 156 f.), while the *s* of *πρός* (*πός*) must be original. *πρός* : *πάρος* (Skt. *puras*) = Lt. *prae* Osc. *prai* : *παρά*. So also *πός* and *πορί* are independent forms; the one = Lith. *pàs* "near", Lt. Osc. Umbr. *pos-t(i)*, the other = Av. *paiti*. Finally, K. attacks other supposed cases of final apocope mentioned by Schmidt (dat. pl. *-οις* < *-οισι*, thessal. gen. sg. *-οι* < *-οιο*, supposed to have originated in the definite article). K.'s article is one that must be prominently considered in any study of Greek dialects.

Pp. 60-67. Sommer, Zu den homerischen Aoristformen *ἔκτα*, *οὔτα*, *ἀπηύρα* und *ἐγήρα*. Cleverly and convincingly explains *ἔκτα* (as well as all the active forms *ἔκταν*, *ἐκταμεν*, etc.; such "root aorists" are properly restricted to the middle in Gk.) by proportional analogy after the mid. *ἐκτάμην*, *ἐκτατο*, etc., and the thematic 2d aor., as *ἐσχόμην* : *ἔσχον*, *ἔσχετο* : *ἔσχε*, etc. *οὔτα* (pres. *οὔτάω*, *οὔτάζω*!) is then analogical to *ἔκτα*. (Brugmann reverses this relation, but fails to account for *οὔτα* satisfactorily). Less fortunate seem to me the remarks on *ἀπηύρα* and *ἐγήρα*.

Pp. 67-68. O. Hoffmann, Die Medialendung *-σαι* in der themat. Flexion. In Samml. Gr. Dial. Inschr. 3339, l. 44 end *ὑποδέκασ-*, restore *ὑποδέκασθαι*, not *-σαι*.

Pp. 69-71. Skutsch, Die Flexion von *τις*. The *ν* of *τινος*, etc., by analogy with *ένός*, etc. (*εἷς*).

Pp. 71-75. Bechtel, Beiträge zur griechischen Wortforschung. 1) *ἀβληχρός*, 2) *ἀκνηστis*, 3) *ὄρηξ*, 4) *τερπικέραυνος* is a Bahuvrihi cpd. from \**τέρπος* (an *s*-stem to *τέρπω*, cf. *ἀ-τερπής*), and means "dessen \**τέρπος* der κεραυνός bildet". The *ι* is explicable; cf. *κρατι-σθένης* (*κράτος*).

Pp. 76-82. Solmsen, Eine griechische Namensippe. Group of names in *κοιρ-* (*κοίρων*, etc.); related to *κοίρανος* and derived from \**κοίρος* "army"; IE. \**kórijos*, Gth. *harjis*, Lith. *karias*, etc. *κοίρανος* : *κοίρων* = *στέφανος* : (Hesych.) *στεφών*. *κοίρανος* is not



derivable from an IE. fem. \**korǵā* (Osthoff), which cannot be shown to have existed.

Pp. 82-86. Kretschmer, Eine Boiotische Vaseninschrift (with cut). An urn given by a newly-married man to a bachelor friend, with facetious inscription urging marriage.

Pp. 86-104. Sokrates Kugéas, Herkunft und Bedeutung von neugriech. Νικληᾶνοι und Φαμέγχοι (names for the aristocrats and the plebeians respectively in Mani). Φαμέγχος < Ital. *familia*, *famiglia*, as has long been known. Νικληᾶνος not < Νύκλιον, as has been assumed, but originally a family name, < Νίκλος, a name which appears repeatedly among the noblemen of Mani since the 16th Century. The name Νίκλος is also preserved in popular sayings, where it is used proverbially for a "great man". As a family name it has died out, but the derivative Νικληᾶνοι persists as a name for the δυνατοί or εὐγενεῖς. The division of the people into δυνατοί and πένητες (φαμέγχοι) goes back to Byzantine times.

Pp. 104-113. Skutsch, Vom pompejanischen Strassenleben. Some Oscan inscriptions at Pompeii, beginning "*eksuk am-vianud eituns*". Meaning: "*hac via (mensae) argentariae inter turrim XII et portam Sarinam* (or the like) *ubi praedicat praeco N. N*".

Pp. 113-116. Vollmer, Zur lat. Konjugation. No evidence in the language itself that forms of *edo* (*est*, *esse*, etc.) ever had *ē*. Probably the *e* was short at least through the Augustan period. Later grammarians prescribe *ē*; perhaps influenced by the false theory of contraction from \**edit*, etc.

Pp. 117-128. Hatzidakis, Grammatisches und Etymologisches. 1) Nouns in -ιδεύς and -δοῦς; 2) οἱ ἄλεις, τὸ ἄλας, etc. 3) Accent of dims. in -ίσκος; 4) Mod. Gk. Etymologies.

Pp. 128-132. Buck, Greek Dialect Notes. 1) νέωτα; 2) Delphian ποιῶντι, ποιόντων (analogical, not contract, forms); 3) Thes-salian προξεννιούν (κοινή influence).

Pp. 132-145. Witte, Zur Homerischen Sprache. 1) Zum "poetischen" plural der Griechen. Pl. used for sg. for metrical reasons, and by analogy with associated words used in the plural, as στήθεσσι (cf. φρεσί), and πῆματα for πῆμα (cf. ἄλγεα). 2) Zur Entstehung Homerischer Formeln (by contamination of two formulaic expressions a new one arises).

Pp. 145-240. Sommer, Zur griechischen Prosodie.

1) Die Positionsbildung bei Homer. "Wernicke's Law" says that the 4th foot of a hexameter must not end in a syllable made long by position by the union of a word-final with a following initial consonant. Analysis of all cases; exceptions, S. shows, are cases of very close syntactical connexion between final word in 4th foot and following word (preposition or article + noun,

etc.), such groups being felt in the prosody as practically one word. A few cases where the connexion is less close (*ἄλλον λαόν*, etc.). Sommer finds that Wernicke's rule holds equally well of the third foot, even better of the fifth, and almost as well of the first and second. In connexion with Solmsen's results concerning *F* and double consonants, this leads to the following rule: "Eine prosodische Länge des homerischen Hexameters darf in der Senkung normalerweise nicht mit Hilfe eines folgenden Wortanlantes zustande kommen" (p. 172).—The end of a word is an important point in the hexameter. "Der Auslaut eines Wortes wird nur dann mit dem nächsten Anlaut kombiniert, wenn er diesen nicht an natürlicher Schallfülle übertrifft" (p. 173). Thus final consonants and semi-vowels both "combine" (*not* making position!) with vowels (hence "shortening" of final diphthongs before a vowel, *i* and *u* becoming *ī* and *ū*), and final consonants with *F* (hence *κρήγυον* *Φεῖπας*, i. e., *κρήγυο νΦεῖπας*), but never with other cons. This thesis of the relative "tonality" of sounds is brought into relation with the treatment of initial consonant-groups and their effect on a preceding short vowel (pp. 178–192), and with "Wernicke's Law" (192–198).

2) Zur Gestaltung der Thesis im 4ten Fusse des versus heroicus (pp. 198–219). The rule defended by Schulze and others that a trochaic word (or word-group) may replace a spondee (dactyl) in the first foot of the hexameter applies also to the fourth foot. In both cases it is due to a verse-pause (in the latter, to the "bucolic diaeresis").

3) *ῥμυν* und *ῥμυν* (pp. 219–240). The *ι* was originally short; no case in Homer or any non-Attic poetry where it must be long, except the pseudo-Doric or -Aeolic of Aristophanes and the Bucolics. The *τ* was peculiar to Attic and the *κοινή*; it originated by analogy from *ῥμεις*, *ῥμῶν*, *ῥμᾶς*, etc., all with uniform accent and quantity of the final syllable. When enclitic all these forms had recessive accent; but enclisis did not affect the quantity of the vowel. In Classical Attic forms with the original *τ* also persist, beside *τ* (especially in Sophocles). A careful, thorough and convincing study.

Pp. 240–244. Thurneysen, *Italisches*. 1) Die Betonung des Oskischen. Long vowels are written doubled only in the first syllable of a word, which indicates that Oscan words even in historic times accented the first syllable.

2) Umbrisch *poni* (*pune*); in phrase *pune frehtu* = *pollinem frictum*, "baked grain" (used in sacrifice).

Pp. 245–261. Methner, *Dum, dummodo* und *modo*. The first two were in origin genuine temporal clauses, which "die im regierenden Satze ausgesprochene Einwilligung oder Einräumung dadurch einschränken, dass sie die Voraussetzung nennen, unter der jene Einwilligung oder Einräumung gelten soll".

*Modo* differs from *dum* (*dummodo*) only in that it contains no temporal force.

Pp. 261-270. Niedermann, Neue Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung der lateinischen Glossen.

Pp. 270-287. Fraenkel, Zur griech. Wortbildung. 1) Zu den Nomina agentis auf -της, postulating several cases of haplology (μετανάστης for \*μεταναστᾱτής; ὑψι-, ὠκυ- πέτης for \*-πετέτης). 2) Eine glosse des Hesychius (παιδικίωρ).

Pp. 288-303. Kretschmer, Remus und Romulus. Oldest (Greek) sources of Rome legend know only one founder, Ῥῶμος or (fem.) Ῥώμη. Ῥῶμος moreover continues to be known even in later Gk. literature, where he is generally one of the twins (taken over from Latin sources); but he takes the place of Lat. *Rēmus*, not *Rōmulus*! The form Ῥέμος only rarely occurs in Gk. K. believes that the Romans took the legend of their own city's foundation from the Greeks, but substituted the name *Rēmus* for Ῥῶμος as founder, so as to suggest ancient family and place names (*Remmius*, *Remnius*, *Remuria*, etc.) known at Rome. Later the name *Rōmulus* was invented, probably with allusion to the *tribus* or *gens Romilia*, so as to approach more closely the name of the city. Both names persisted, and hence the story of the two brothers sprang up. Remus was the senior brother in the original legend; in early sources he is mentioned before Romulus, and Romulus is once called *Altellus* (i. e., \**alter-los*), "the second (brother)". Ingenious and interesting, but to the reviewer's mind not quite convincing.

Pp. 303-322. Skutsch, Lateinische Pronominalflexion. As *quis*, *is* are mixtures of *o*-stems and *i*-stems, so *ille* and *iste* had originally two stems, *illo- isto-* and *illi- isti-* (wrongly Brugmann Demonstrativpronomina 81 and 96). From stem *illi-* are derived these forms: Nom. *ille* < \**illis* (final -*is* in general may become -*e*, as *sequere* < *sequeris*, *nime* < *nimis*, *mage* < *magis*, *sat(e)* < *satis*).—Gen. *illeis* (*illis*), required frequently by Plautine prosody for MS *illius*.—Dat. *illei* (*illi*).—Acc. *illim* (adv. *illinc*). From stem *illo-* are derived: Nom. (\**illus*) *ollus*.—Gen. *illi* (old; the later *illius* by analogy with *eius*, *quonius*, cf. Vulg. Lat. *illui* with *cui*. *Eius* and *quonius*, *cuius* are possibly "Neubildungen vom dat. *ejei*, *quojei* [*eī*, *cui*], . . . . Proportion *ejei quojei* : *ejus quojus* = *Venerai* u. s. w. : *Venerus*").—Dat. *illō* (in adv. of direction *illō*, *illōc*, *illūc*, which S. regards as an old dative; so then, of course, also *hōc hūc*, *eō*, *quō*, *istō*).—Acc. *illum*, etc.—Analogously stems *isto- isti-*.—The argument is most clever and interesting; the general point that there was a stem *illi-* (*isti-*) seems pretty clear, though some details rest on daring assumptions, as the author admits at times. At least the reviewer agrees with S. (p. 322) that his conjectures have "den

Vorzug der Einfachheit . . . in höherem Grade als die Vermutungen anderer".

Pp. 323-333. Kretschmer, Zur griech. und lat. Wortforschung. 1) ἀλλᾶς "sausage" < ἀλλᾶεις (Herodian), < a Doric noun \*ἀλλᾶ = Italian Ionic (Hesych.) ἄλλην : λᾶχανον Ἰταλοί. The word was borrowed first into the Greek of South Italy from a Sabellian (hence -λλ- for -li-) dialectic word equivalent to Latin *ālium* (*allium*). 2) Lat. *nubo*. No evidence for supposed original meaning of *nubo* "veil oneself" except the etymological fancy of Aelius Stilo. This guess was suggested by *obnubo*, which however is a late denom. formation from *nubes*. *Nubo* is related to νύμφη and OSlav. *snubiti* "woo". 3) *Dies* als femininum. So used when = *tempus*; gender perhaps due to *tempestas*, fem., which originally had the same meanings.

Pp. 333-339. Schmalz, *Si tamen*. Comes to equal *si quidem*. In classical language poetic (*metri gratia*?).

Pp. 340-348. Kretschmer, Der Plan eines Thesaurus der griechischen Sprache. The present state of the question; difficulties and problems.

P. 348. Skutsch, *Armentum*. For \**arāmentum* (*arāre*); shortening by iambic law, then syncope; cf. *calfacio* < *calēfacio* < *calēfacio* (*calens facio*).

Pp. 349-416. Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1907; Greek by Kretschmer; Italic incl. Latin by Skutsch.

Pp. 417-432. Word indices and Index of Passages to the volume, by Kurt Witte.

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## BRIEF MENTION.

When I survey the mass of unmarketable manuscript that accumulates during the course of my studies in the by-ways and blind alleys of philology, that smooth-faced gentleman, Tickling Commodity, whispers to me at times, 'Why not saw all that lumber into lengths for *Brief Mention*?' and perhaps some of my readers think that I yield too often to the temptation, and that instead of writing noncommittal summaries of current publications, for which *Brief Mention* was designed, I have abused my editorial privilege and made this section of the Journal a place of deposit for my own lucubrations—philological and other. And yet, who knows what allurements of the Evil One I have resisted? Of my lecture on Chantecler only a pinch of sawdust here and there has escaped into *Brief Mention* (A. J. P. XXXII 367); and yet I have had ample excuse. There, f. i., is the attitude of Aristophanes towards nature, a subject involved in the study of Rostand's achievement, which has already become a classic, and, being a classic, is with the classics already laid on the shelf. There is the different extent of the spheres of comic effect in the two poets, the range of allegory, the range of symbolism, the sincerity of the lyric, the typicality of the characters, as f. i., the character of the Greek professor, Pivert (Πῖνερτ), which calls for a vindication of the guild. There is the alliance of Chantecler and Patou, which goes back to the mysteries of Mithras, to say nothing of the hero himself, still 'a bird of good omen', says Mr. Horton, whose 'cheery matutinal chant is supposed <by the Greeks of to-day> to exorcise the malignant spirits that lurk about hallways o' dark nights'. (*In Argolis*, p. 5.)

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Another such side-study of which one or two scraps have found their way into the last *Brief Mention* is the comparison of the Greek text of Mr. MACKAIL's Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology with his English version of the same. Translation is an unending theme, and I could fill many pages of the Journal with comments that might be justified at a pinch as contributions to the closer study of Greek. There is the chapter of flowers—their identification, their symbolism; the chapter of synonyms—Greek and English—for which the MACKAIL book offers many suggestions; the significance of the genders—not purely grammatical genders in poetry; the rôle of the sea; the difference between the Greek aura and that of its English translation; the meaning and the distribution of compounds; the subtleties of cases and prepositions; the structure of the elegiac distich;



the mechanical pressure of quantity, which often crushes out the sharpest synonyms; the order of words, so different according to Wilamowitz in Greek and Latin elegiacs. Some of these things I might have smuggled into *Brief Mention*, and I am even now tempted to call attention to the fact, which I have never seen emphasized, that in the so-called model distich commonly credited to Schiller, though Wilamowitz claims it for Schlegel,<sup>1</sup>

Im Hexameter steigt des Springquells flüssige Säule,  
Im Pentameter drauf fällt sie melodisch herab,

the poet has constructed an hexameter on lines that are so unpopular in Greek that in 695 hexameters of the Theognidea there is only one spondee in the bucolic diaeresis. In the MACKAIL selection the most conspicuous example is A. P. VI 336, which is readily explained by emotion. It is true that the spondee in the fourth place is common enough in Latin, but an hexameter that is to be a model should follow the Greek standard; and it is interesting to note that in the 'faultless distich' of 'der romantische Oedipus', Platen has built both hexameter and pentameter on Greek lines, the third trochee caesura in the one, the polysyllabic ending in the other:

Möge die Welt durchschweifen der herrliche Dulder Odysseus  
Kehrt er zurück, weh' euch, wehe dem Freiergeschlecht.

These breaks are all important for the effect of the hexameter. One can hardly bring oneself to believe that Bernard of Cluny's verse is an hexameter:

Hora novissima, tempora pessima, nunc vigilemus,

and the loss of the hexametrical feeling may be illustrated by the following rhymed distich:

Weary of goddesses' kisses, outspake the Endurer Ulysses:  
Grant me, Circe, surcease; grant me, Calypso, release.

But I shall be suspected of abusing the rhetorical figure *παράλειψις* of which Grumio showed himself such a master in the Taming of the Shrew.

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Caesura and diaeresis are indeed important questions in this whole matter of translating into the metres of the original—a subject which takes up more than two-thirds of LUDWIG BELLERMANN'S Preface to his *Translation of the Aias of Sophokles* (Weidmann). Sixteen pages are consecrated to the play itself, a vindication, if vindication were needed, of the dramaturgy of that wonderful piece, thirty-four to the metrical form of translation, in which the author stands up stoutly for holding to the trimeter as the appropriate measure for the dialogue. The danger

<sup>1</sup> Kultur der Gegenwart, S. 141.

of the break in the middle, which changes the trimeter into the Alexandrine, he recognizes—as who would not? But he emphasizes the fact that this very break is after all not such a rarity in Greek verse. Indeed it is much less a rarity than is commonly recognized, and if the sense bridges the gap, the break is not felt. It is the triple break, the *χαῖρ' ὃ Χάρων* break, that is to be sedulously avoided in serious poetry. In a monosyllabic language like the English the difficulty is greatly enhanced, and whereas BELLERMANN emphasizes the trouble a German encounters in keeping the translation within the bounds of the verse, the translator into English finds himself forced to pad at every line (A. J. P. XXX 364). If it were worth the space, I might illustrate this by comparing my own version of the famous monologue with BELLERMANN'S, but I forbear, as I forbear to express an opinion on the merits of the new rendering. No familiarity with a language will make up for the lack of the native feeling, and when I say that I have read long stretches unjarred, that is no real commendation, and when I say that I cannot reconcile myself to such a verse as 'Und nun, ihr ewig jungfräulichen Göttinnen', that is no censure worth considering. The introductory matter will be read by all students of the art of translation with pleasure and profit, and I admire the spirit of detachment which enabled the author to quote the words of Wilhelm von Humboldt to the effect that translations are but transitory things, and serve chiefly as documents of the language for the time being—'Der wahre <Geist> ruht allein in der Urschrift'.

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I could find it in my heart to linger long over the *Aias*, a favorite of mine from my early student days, when everything was a revelation, when *ἔφριξ' ἔρωτι, περιχαρὴς δ' ἀνεπτόμαν* might have figured on every page of my diary. In the same package with BELLERMANN'S *Aias* came two other Weidmann books, and with them other memories of the distant past. HEINRICH OTTE'S tractate, in which he asks the question, 'Kennt Aristoteles die sogenannte Katharsis?', calls up the image of Bernays (A. J. P. XXIX 114) and I take down the old 'heft' on the Poetics of Aristotle, in which is recorded the doctrine, which has been the centre of controversy ever since. OTTE impugns it as so many have done. In the famous passage, *δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν*, he would have us read *πραγμάτων* for *παθημάτων*, and if we must keep *παθημάτων*, still the *κάθαρσις* deals not with the feelings of the spectator but with the character of the actors, and he renders the whole: 'Die Tragödie ist diejenige künstlerische Gestaltung einer ernsten u. abgeschlossenen Handlung, welche durch Mitleid und Furcht die Reinigung solcher Geschehnisse (oder leidvollen Vorgänge) zustande bringt'. The poet must not 'purge' the beholder, but remodel the myth so as to bring out clearly the fundamental principle of tragedy, which

is the representation of actions that stir pity and fear. OTTE is jubilant over his discovery, but between me and OTTE's book rises the shade of the young privat-docent—he was only twenty-eight—with his sensitive countenance, his half-closed eyes, his half-kindly, half-mocking smile, as he corrected the crude views of his boyish hearer; and I pass on to the third of the books, which was bound up in the same bundle and which evoked memories of the same period of my life. In HERRMANN'S *Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des xv. u. xvi. Jahrhunderts*, WALTHER JANELL (A. J. P. XXII 348) has edited *Nicodemus Frischlinus, Julius Redivivus*, with introductions by WALTHER HAUFF, on Frischlin as a man; GUSTAV ROETH, on Frischlin as a dramatist; WALTHER JANELL, on Frischlin as a philologist. In 1856 David Strauss's *Life of Frischlin* fell into my hands, and I was so much fascinated by the narrative that I made it the theme of an article in one of the religious quarterlies of the day. The trivial fact that the editor declined to pay me the stipulated honorarium because I no longer needed the money, made a deep impression on my mind, but, if there was no pecuniary reward, I have had occasion from time to time to air my Frischliniana in the *Journal* (e. g. VIII 253); and I have had great pleasure at this late day in renewing my acquaintance with the story of the ill-starred poet and scholar who has come to his rights in the attractive volume which tells the tragi-comic tale of the strange *farceur* of Tübingen and helps to keep green the memory of the erratic genius, who was long known to students of the classics chiefly as the author of a translation of some of the plays of Aristophanes—a translation which few take the trouble to consult, and which is slightly mentioned by Aristophanic specialists. It is one of the ironies of fate, as I have noted elsewhere (A. J. P. XXIX 500) that in Sir John Sandys's *History of Classical Scholarship* the name of Frischlin is saved alive by that of his arch-enemy, Martin Crusius, who hounded him to his death and hounded him after death. A sordid life was his, but it mirrored his environment better than a loftier one would have done. He accomplished nothing great, says HAUFF, but there was a Latin grammar to his credit far in advance of his time, his comedies are still worth reading, and if his humor was broad, his wit was keen. 'Bossierig in convivio' he was, as even his enemies had to admit, and some of his jests, struck out in the lively discussion of the lecture-room, are fresh to-day. The wealth of wit and wisdom, of eloquence and poetry, stored in the treasury of the Neo-Latin literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, at one time too much neglected, is now sedulously explored; and the hold of Latin studies has been strengthened thereby to the greater glory of the language and the literature of antiquity. The mass is too great to be made accessible by translation and the value too great to be passed by with indifference.

Of Frischlin's comedies the one that has been selected for revivification is the *Julius Redivivus*, a glorification of Germany which enjoyed great popularity in its day, and suggested similar performances in the following century. In this play Caesar is represented as brought again from the dead by Mercury, the Guide of Souls, to revisit Germany—how changed from what it was in the olden times! On this visit Caesar is accompanied by Cicero, with whom he had made friends at the bidding of Pluto—not without some reserves, as appears here and there in the dialogue. The scene is laid in Strassburg, the glory of German cities, and Caesar and Cicero join in admiration of the famous clock of the minster. Caesar, of course, is especially interested in the changes that have taken place in the art of war, and is enlightened as to guns and gunpowder by Hermann, a descendant of Arminius of old. According to Frischlin's wont, the *Commentarii* are freely drawn on, and Caesar's prose turned wherever possible into verse. Cicero on the other hand is inducted into the state of the humanities in Germany by the famous poet, Eobanus Hessus, and profits so much by his short stay that he is able to pronounce judgment on the merits of the leading German scholars and poets of the sixteenth century. Some of the names are familiar enough, such as Erasmus, Melancthon, and Camerarius. Some of them have faded out and convey no more image to the modern scholar than the members of the 'Geisboltzheimaea propago', celebrated in one of Frischlin's occasional poems. Eobanus, however, gets something more from Cicero than this list of literary judgments, and while he explains to the orator the mysteries of paper-making and printing, he is instructed as to the lost art of making papyrus. The low comedy is furnished by a Savoyard pedlar, who represents France, and by a Milanese chimney-sweep who represents Italy, much to the enhancement of Germany's glory as a home of the Muses. By the way, the figure of the Savoyard may have been suggested by an incident which is thus related after Strauss in the article to which I have referred. On one occasion Frischlin proposed the thesis "*Mundus dumtaxat unus est*". A stupid young Savoyard who was on the opposite side adduced the passage from Luke xvi 17, which runs in the Vulgate "*Nonne decem mundi facti sunt?*" Frischlin kept his countenance and replied gravely, "But do we not read in the same Scripture, '*Ubi autem sunt novem?*'" The Savoyard ran out of the hall which rang again with the laughter of the students. The comedy is, as I have said, a glorification of Germany, but it is not all glorification. The old German character is in danger of being undermined by the introduction of foreign gewgaws, and the peril of drink is emphasized, a subject about which Frischlin was competent to bear testimony. 'Fregit' he sings elsewhere addressing the Brunswickers '*vires Mummia vestra meas*'. The *Julius Redivivus* is a curious document, but one is somewhat relieved when Pluto puts an end to the show.

Like the strains of music, which floated out from the deck of the foundering Titanic, come the notes of the *Aristoxenian Theory of Musical Rhythm* by C. F. ABDY WILLIAMS, the musical composer, whose setting of Sophoklean choruses did so much to make the famous Bradfield performances successful (Cambridge, At the University Press: New York, G. B. Putnam's Sons). The reactionist metricians have had it all their own way for some years, so that to me the chapter on Pindar's Melody is 'like a fair dream, too fair to come to pass, and yet it has come to pass', if I may be allowed to quote my own remark on O. 6, 4. The enoplios is discussed by Mr. WILLIAMS, but not the antispast; and epitrite and logaoedic flourish amain. There is a chapter on *ethos*, *ethos* of the quintuple rhythm, more properly called sescuple, *ethos* of the logaoedic, *ethos* of the glyconic, which according to Wilamowitz has no character at all (A. J. P. XVI 394); and when Mr. WILLIAMS tells us that Schmidt's metrical arrangement (cf. P. 1, 2) corresponds with the musical barring of Gevaert (p. 76), and that in 'the eighth Pythian ode the logaoedic rhythm is suitable for dealing with the energetic character of a wrestler' (p. 114), I am tempted to say 'redeunt Saturnia regna' or rather *λῦσε δὲ Ζεὺς ἀφθίτος Τιτᾶνας*. How far all this harmonizes with ithyphallic and enopliac, how far it harmonizes with the doctrines of the *oîos pénnourai* Schroeder, as translated by Professor SHOREY in the last number of *Classical Philology*, this is not the place to inquire. Nor is it the place to inquire how far these theories affect the practical recitation of Pindar, which seems to demand a kind of chant. 'Even now', says Mr. Murray in his *Ariel*, not to say airy, way, 'even now, though every wreck of the music is lost, one feels that <Pindar's> words need singing to make them intelligible'. Of course, I cannot go so far as that, and, needless to say, I am not one of the many lovers of Pindar who 'agree that the things that stay in one's mind stay not as thoughts, but as music', but in common with all who care for Greek lyric poetry I am grateful to those who, like Mr. WILLIAMS, help us to some appreciation of the music. The melody is lost, but the modern reproduction that follows Aristoxenian rhythm is perhaps as near to the original as certain translations that have passed through the refracting medium of poetical interpreters. In the matter of metre, as in the matter of translation, 'naufragium sibi quisque facit', to continue in the same sphere of imagery as that with which I began this *Brief Mention*—a sphere of imagery out of which it seems impossible to emerge at the time that I am writing.

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The reaction in metrical theory to which I have just referred, the return to the ancient authorities, which became pronounced shortly after I had committed myself hopelessly to the Westphal-Rossbach-Schmidt system, has not affected my spirits any more



than has the demolition of the Hegelian triads (A. J. P. XXXIII 106). It has, it is true, made it impossible for me to complete my edition of Pindar (A. J. P. XXXI 126), but I croon the odes to myself, and ask myself whether after all there is so vast a difference in the actual recitation. I was little more than a boy when I entered the lecture-room of Johannes Franz in the University of Berlin, and heard him read the first chorus of the Septem. Franz was, I presume, a Dindorfian in the matter of metres; but I had never heard dochmiacs, in fact any Greek lyric poetry, read rhythmically before, and the verses have haunted me ever since. An impressionable youth, I was captivated by the study, and when I migrated to Göttingen, I followed and enjoyed the lectures of that unique scholar, Von Leutsch. Never do I open the well-thumbed and plentifully annotated 'Grundriss' without a joyous vision of that rare man, never without recalling his quaint ways and the stories that were current about him, never without hearing him say: *Der Vers wird, der Vers wird, sofort, sofort, üppig, üppig*. In after days my own pupils were to pay me back in wonderment, and amused themselves with caricaturing my recitation of the choruses in the Antigone. But I persevered, and long before I became a convert to Schmidt I fashioned a number of translations of Greek choruses in the 'metres of the original' (cf. A. J. P. XXX 353); and sometimes I ask myself how these translations respond to the different theories.

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And this reminds me that I have had on my table for some months a treatise by Professor E. CÉZARD of Beaune, a name to conjure with, entitled *Métrique Sacrée des Grecs et des Romains* (Paris, E. Klincksieck). In the preface, M. CÉZARD tells us that the ancients possessed two sorts of metric—one teaching error, and composed with the full intention of concealing the knowledge of the rhythms. The other was meant for the truth, but it was kept secret and sacred. It was revealed only at the mysteries of Demeter, and was reserved for the poets and the initiated. *θύρας ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι*. This true metric M. CÉZARD thinks that he has rediscovered. I cannot undertake to discuss his system, but it will be a comfort to conservative metricians to know that all the feet are there, from pyrrhic to molossus, and that M. CÉZARD does not break rudely with the past. Triseme is there  $\sqcup$  and pentaseme  $\sqcup\sqcup$ , and to these accepted notations he has added symbols of his own. There is a chapter on the Anapaestic Versification, one on the Iambic Versification, a third on the Logaoedic, a fourth on the Dochmiac. The fifth chapter, which concerns me more nearly, he devotes to Pindar, and gives us the scansion of all the odes according to his system, in the order, Isthmian, Nemean, Olympian, and Pythian.

No Pindaric specialist could be more enthusiastic about Pindar and his metres than is M. CÉZARD. Pindar's metric reposes, he says, upon principles of unshakable solidity. His Jachin and Boaz are Dimeter and Variety; and he follows the laws of versification, rediscovered by M. CÉZARD, with meticulous care. Pindar's periods have the same number of syllables; the syllables have the same quantity. The caesurae are almost always in the same place. Substitutes are extremely rare, although M. CÉZARD does not go the whole way with the author of *ANTI MIAS* (A. J. P. XXXI 115). Scanned as M. CÉZARD would have us scan them, Pindar's odes are models of beauty (*de toute beauté*). There exist, he says, few musical phrases so majestic as that which is formed by the last three verses of I. 5. I quite agree with him, for they are the Doric epitrites of the school which is now under the ban. Perhaps I shall be pardoned for giving the text and M. CÉZARD's scansion. There is no room for more. Vv. 23-25 run according to M. CÉZARD and Boeckh thus:

- 23 καὶ πέραν Νείλοιο παγὰν καὶ δι' Ὑπερβορέους  
 24 οὐδ' ἔστιν οὕτω βάρβαρος οὔτε παλίγλωσσος πόλις,  
 25 ἄτις οὐ Πηλῆος αἶεϊ κλέος ἥρωος, εὐδαίμονος γαμβροῦ θεῶν.

To me the verses seem to read themselves, if recited slowly. V. 25 might give the reader pause. Πηλῆος must be read as a dissyllable, and I should prefer to hold the first syllable of ἥρωος, the first syllable of εὐδαίμονος. Others might favour Schroeder's way, which is clear enough, ἄτις οὐ Πηλῆος αἶεϊ κλέος ἥ-ρωος εὐδαίμονος γαμβροῦ θεῶν. Now here is the way these simple verses appear in M. CÉZARD's analysis: v. 23 3 trtd, 2 ptar; v. 24 2 iatd, 2 ptar, 2 spdoc; v. 25 1 cr 2 paré, 2 doc 1, 2 spdoc. These cabalistic signs mean: v. 23 trimètre tr(ochaique) t(rès) d(ense), dimètre p(eti)t ar(chiloquien); v. 24 dimètre ia(mbique) t(rès) d(ense), dimètre p(eti)t ar(chiloquien), dimètre sp(ondaïque) doc(hmiaque); v. 25 1 cr(étique) dimètre paré(miaque), dimètre doc(hmiaque) (forme)1, dimètre sp(ondaïque) doc(hmiaque). Doubtless these sigla—there are scores of them—will seem very simple when the system is once fairly mastered, but I leave the mastery to my juniors—that is, to nearly all the world of scholars. Nor will I discuss the cryptic doctrine of numbers, which M. CÉZARD has brought to light, simply noting that he has counted the bars of the 44 Pindaric odes and divided the odes accordingly into three classes. There are nine in which the bars are multiples of ten, with a sport which is a multiple of 15 viz. 75. These nine are called decimal odes. Seventeen are astronomical, seventeen are 'numeral', 66, 77, 88, 99, 111. All these numbers were intentional, and offered a double advantage. They brought to the person for whom the ode was composed the protection of certain mysterious powers, and served poets and musicians as clues, as *points de repère*—a French phrase which Matthew Arnold admired

and used—which should enable them to restore the true scansion; and of these *points de repère* M. CÉZARD has availed himself in this work, which is a miracle of painstaking study such as unfortunately seldom finds its reward in painstaking students.

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In his edition of *Isocrates' Cyprian Orations*, viz. *Evagoras*, ad *Nicoclem* and *Nicocles* (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press) Mr. FORSTER has followed the plan which I have so often commended by precept and example, and has 'given no reference to any <of the numerous Greek grammars now in use;> but, where necessary, <has> commented on and illustrated any grammatical points which arise'. Some time ago (A. J. P. XXVI 237) I called attention to some of the Isokratean characteristics that force themselves on the attention of the reader as he glances down the columns of Preuss's Index, and in like manner before reading Mr. FORSTER's notes I ran over the Greek text and asked myself what points would arise in my mind, what points I should emphasize, if I undertook to make use of these three orations as an introduction to the style of Isokrates, quite apart from the rhetorical analysis of the figures of speech, which might be out of place in so elementary a book as Mr. FORSTER's. It seems to me that I should have something to say about the τε—καί of the leisurely orator, about the occasional τε—τε, about the 'hochselig' business of ἐκείνος in the *Evagoras*, about the three-fold root of the plural of abstracts, distribution, stateliness, chasmophobia. I should mention the fatiguing correlative construction of ὥστε in the *Evagoras*, a striking contrast to the behavior of ὥστε in the other speeches (A. J. P. VII 171, XIV 240). It is this use of correlatives that gives Isokrates the processional swaying of his style, so well described by the term κατασκελής, which, as I have maintained (A. J. P. XI 372), has nothing to do with 'dry' or 'thin', but refers to the deliberate 'waddling', 'kuhlatschig' movement of his sentences. I should comment on the frequent use he makes of the 'valuable periphrasis' of φανήσομαι (SCG 294), in which he is followed by Cicero with his *videri*. I should note the long roll of the present participle (E. 44), and his admirable use of the participle generally. Nor should I pass by the unbroken gravity of the present imperative in *Evagoras* and *Nicocles*, and the impressive asyndeton, which has more weight in Greek than it can possibly have in asyndetic English. Compare the asyndeton in curses noted by Professor Fox in the recent supplement to the *Journal* (p. 35) and the Pindaric asyndeton in prayers. The position of the article, adjective and substantive, the use of the articular infinitive (A. J. P. VIII 332)—all these things tell on the style. But none of these things have moved Mr. FORSTER to comment. Most of his grammatical notes are trivial, and the grammars which he himself uses can hardly be up

to date. To be sure, if he fails to accept the difference between the downright *ἴσα* and the tentative *ὅπως ἂν* (N. C. 2), he has company in Stahl (A. J. P. XXIX 267); but no schoolboy should be allowed to use *πομπίζω ὅτι* (N. C. 46), even if the construction does occur under circumstances of special temptation (A. J. P. IX 101).

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To borrow Scaliger's figure—itsself borrowed—the sauce with which Casaubon served up Persius was thick enough and slab enough; but every succeeding commentator tried to add something of his own to the mess, until Jahn came, who made the sauce so thick and so slab that there seemed to be no possibility of finding any more 'wrinkled pepper and grains of paling cumin', to lend flavour to the original. However, as I have said elsewhere (A. J. P. XXVII 104), the medley called 'satire' is as varied as the medley called life, and anything that has to do with life can be made to contribute to the illustration of the Roman satirists. Thirty-seven years ago I wrote: 'A critic with M. Taine's resources might account for the <peculiarities> of Persius by the climate of Volaterrae'; and my own words came back to me the other day as I studied D'Annunzio's vivid description of the Inferno of Volterra in his 'Forse che sì, forse che no'. No unfit environment that for the Stoic hardinesses and the youthful ebullitions of the alumnus of Volaterrae; and I could not help thinking of Persius as I read: 'una terra senza dolcezza, un paese di sterilità e di sete, una landa malvagia, un deserto di cenere . . . Soltanto quà e là qualche tamerice assetata e scolorata vi languiva . . . Sul culmine d'un poggio cretoso tre cipressi eran fitti . . . L'acqua simile a una broda viscosa e untuosa bolliva'. Or, if D'Annunzio will not serve the commentator's turn, one might look up parallels to Persius' realisms in Arnold Bennett's novels of the Five Towns. Indeed, every newspaper, every play, will furnish parallels. So, for instance, the perfect match to 'intus palleat', cited in the Journal (l. c.), was taken from the Baltimore Sun, and I have just stumbled on a companion-piece in one of Dumas fils' plays, 'Allez-vous m'apprendre à ne rougir qu' en dedans?'. However, annotations like these would not be considered sufficiently dignified, and in my day I had the vanity to read long stretches of Greek and Latin authors in order to add something to the stores of Casaubon and Jahn; but that day is long past and this new *Persius* by Professor VAN WAGENINGEN (Groningen, Nordhoff), which seems to deserve careful consideration, does not tempt me to more than a *Brief Mention*. In the first section of the Prolegomena Professor VAN WAGENINGEN expresses his dissent from those who believe in a dramatic 'satura', which Professor KNAPP discusses in the current number of the Journal. In the second he treats of Persius' obligations to his predecessors—to Lucilius, to whom,

in his judgment, the young poet was indebted for inspiration rather than for details; to Horace, who according to one investigator can be traced through one-third of the satires. This indebtedness to Horace is, of course, an old story; but the evidence is conveniently presented in the parallel column form, which carries with it the conviction of a double-barrelled gun; and in like manner we are told what Persius owes to Catullus, Vergil, and Ovid. There is a chapter—the third—after Gérard on the language of Persius, vocabulary and syntax, and another on his handling of the hexameter. The fifth section *De Persii Saturae Indole atque Natura*, and the sixth *De Persii Doctrina Stoica*, in which VAN WAGENINGEN has made use of Martha, as I did nearly forty years ago, move along familiar lines. By the way, it may be worth noting that the plebeian language of Persius, of which the third chapter treats, and his Stoic creed are closely connected. The aristocrat by creed, like the aristocrat by birth—and Persius was both—is tempted to shock the refined by using the drastic language of the people. So the Stoic shows his contempt of the petty things of earth by the free use of diminutives, which belong largely to the vulgar sphere. Marcus Aurelius has more diminutives to the square inch than have the comic poets and Seneca, the many-times millionaire, is an authority for the *sermo plebeius*. This is one of the points that VAN WAGENINGEN does not make, and it seems to me worth making. A translation into Belgian Dutch faces the text. To one not over-familiar with Hollandish Dutch the specific charm of the Belgian variety will not be at once apparent. A detailed examination of the commentary, which seems to be up-to-date in its references, is out of the question here. It has the merit of being clear and sharp and concise, though whoever edits Persius must needs expose himself to the original of Scaliger's *μοι, ὀβολοῦ τάριχος, δὺ ὀβολῶν ἀρνύματα*.

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Myself a dealer in *obiter dicta*, I am a sworn foe of other people's happy-go-lucky utterances (A. J. P. XXXI 358) which often have disastrous results. Everybody who knows Greek at all seems to consider himself qualified to pronounce judgments now on this author, now on that, judgments which are naught unless supported by a command of all the subtle variations of syntax and by an intimate knowledge of delicate shades of meaning, such as can be gained only by prolonged and thoughtful study; and even then if sympathy be lacking, everything is lacking. This is the true coin of the spirit, of which we may say, 'Deficiente pecu-, deficit omne nia'. One pernicious affectation is a certain tip-tilted sniffing at great authors whom it is our business to try to understand and not to censure. How much one loses by sniffing, I myself have experienced in the matter of the Greek of the New Testament, as I have humbly con-



fessed (A. J. P. XXX 229); and when in quite another field I think of the handsome vindication of Isokrates by Eduard Meyer, by Pöhlmann, and latterly by Mr. Grundy in his *Thucydides and the History of his Age*, I blush to recall my frivolous gibes at the old man eloquent. And yet this same Mr. Grundy has set afloat a sentence like this about Thukydides (p. 22):

Thucydides' Greek is at best good Thracian, is a remark which I once heard made by a great scholar and a very learned man.

To be sure, Mr. Grundy adds, 'Being neither, I am unable to go the whole way with him', but he evidently goes part of the way with him when he says: 'It is possible that <Thucydides> spent his earlier years in Thrace'; but on p. 51 the 'possibility' appears as a 'probability', and we read:

It is probable that the earliest Greek which he learned was that of the region of Mount Pangaeus. It would be at best something less than pure Attic—a fact which might increase his appreciation of it, but would lessen his power to realize the purest form of the dialect.

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Now, this is the same kind of stuff in which even so skilful a translator as was the late Mr. Dakyns indulged when he paralleled Xenophontean Greek with American English, the same kind of stuff in which another critic indulged when he detected the influence of a residence in Thuri on the language of Lysias (A. J. P. IV 88), faultless language according to Dionysios, a finer judge of *καθαρότης* than most moderns. As for Thukydides' early residence in Thrace, everybody knows, or ought to know, that purity of speech is often most carefully guarded in the presence of temptation. Everything depends on the discipline of the domestic circle; and those who criticize the Greek of Thukydides on the ground of his residence in Thrace are in the same condemnation with those who speak of the negroid English of the good families of the South. The dialectic differences hark back to the old English usage, as Mr. Primer, who held no brief for the South, has set forth at length in this Journal (A. J. P. IX 198 foll.), and the heads of households were made more vigilant by the dangers from without. And a similar discipline in the aristocratic families of Thrace may serve to explain the thing that puzzled Bergk when he expressed his surprise (G. L. G. I 110) at the purity of the Greek language in view of the fact that the nurture and education of the children were so largely entrusted to a lot of slaves, to a lot of Thracians, a race notoriously solecistic.

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'Thucydides' Greek is at best good Thracian' is just one of those phrases that pass easily from mouth to mouth, and recalls the dictum of a French scholar that there is no worse enemy of

the historical sense than a relish for phrase-making, though, to be sure, this sentence itself is a phrase. Many years have passed since Disraeli enlarged on the value of a 'cry' in politics, but long before Disraeli phrases ruled the world. Phrase-making begets phrase-making, and the critics of Thukydides have had Thukydides to teach them. Mr. Grundy's great scholar is a case in point. Some day I hope to make an anthology—yes, I will call it an anthology, for there are queer flowers in the Garland of Meleager—an anthology made up of choice extracts from histories of literature, in which the relish for phrase-making, the desire to be piquant, the 'manie de briller', the ambition to outdo the authors under discussion, have had the admirable result of keeping one lover of literature, who is after a fashion a lover of truth, down to his proper work of constructing syntactical phrases, which, after all, may be so many exemplifications of the fatal fascination against which M. Perrot has warned us (A. J. P. XIV 127). And when I think of the utter emptiness of the sentence in which Herodotos is represented as 'the pious historian of a pious age'; when I think of the sentence in which Justin Martyr is represented as an eloquent writer, I rejoice that I have not committed myself to more false conceptions, to more absurd misstatements, than I have done hitherto. But I am not a fair judge of Thukydides' style just now, for as I write I have just laid down the Seventh Book, which Macaulay—another phrase-maker—calls the 'ne plus ultra of human art'. 'No prose composition', he had just written 'in the world, not even the De Corona, <did he> place so high'. 'Not even the De Corona?' How much of the admiration for the De Corona is factitious, this is not the place to inquire. Why, men have been known to edit the De Corona without pointing out to the student some of the great springs of its effectiveness. Well, Thracian or no Thracian, perhaps because of his Thracian blood, Thukydides sets your nerves quivering, and you lose your critical poise unless you are as cool as was Colonel Mure.

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A trifle old-fashioned may have been the Greek spoken in the house of Oloros, but it was not Thracian; nay, rather than subscribe to the notion that Thukydides' style is due to the imperfect mastery of his instrument, I should accept the doctrine of that pedantic creature, Dionysios, and consider him perversely anti-grammatical. Conscious he was, just as Mr. Pater was conscious; but we cannot expect those who adore the *sine viro* beauty of Pater to appreciate the masculinity of Thukydides. But what of the puerile ornamentation of which Dionysios speaks? What of the Gorgianic, or, if you choose, Gorgiassic, jingles in which he indulges? There were Gorgiassic jingles before Gorgias, and a study of paronomasia in its wider ranges might check the

modern critic. The ancient critic is not expected to have so large a vision. Strong natures and strong situations generate plays on words. Samson could hardly have learned from Gorgias, nor could the Hebrew prophets—no weaklings they. Who will not recall Aias and Kassandra in their hour of doom, and ελένυς Helen? If there is a strong man in Thukydides, it is Hermokrates, and he is a Sicilian to boot, κομψὸς Σικελὸς ἀνὴρ, and in his double capacity he is welcome to the κατοικίσαι and ἐξοικίσαι (7, 76, 1) to which Dennis of the Seahorn objects so vehemently. For my part I try to learn Greek from my Thracian, and when there is question as to the significance of the particles—those little things that De Quincey disposed of on the simple theory that they were all expletives—I watch Thukydides. If there is too much λόγῳ and ἔργῳ, I say to myself, λόγῳ and ἔργῳ are μέν and δέ writ large, and his rarities are as instructive as his iterations. The commentators note the fact that he uses τοι uncombined but thrice. What is τοι? It is more commonly considered a dephlogisticated second person. The theory of a vague demonstrative does not find so much favour now as it did when two scholars, who adorned two different hemispheres, waxed so enthusiastic about the demonstrative theory that they cited Pindar's ξύνες δ' τοι λέγω as an example of the particle in combination with the present indicative. τοι is an appeal for human sympathy, as πού is a resigned submission to the merciless *rerum natura* (A. J. P. XXX 14)—submission to the ἀνάγκη of life, the ἀνάγκη of death—as in the famous Kallimachean lines: ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν πού, | ξεῖν' Ἀλικαρνησεῦ, τετράπαλαι σποδιή. With the negative the resignation becomes a protest, as in the still more famous utterance of Zeus Kronion: οὐ μὲν γάρ τί ποῦ ἐστὶν διζυρώτερον ἀνδρὸς | πάντων, ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνέει τε καὶ ἔρπει. The positive implies a 'must' (A. J. P. XXXIII 112). The negative a 'can't'. The half-question οὐ τί πού denotes bewilderment, rebellion (Pind. P., 4, 87). Very different is τοι. τοι has been happily called the 'confidential' particle (Starkie, Ar. Vesp. 1192), and I never see the doubly confidential τοίνυν, which is such a favorite with Lysias, without recalling Col. Sellers in the 'Gilded Age', and his cajoling address to the jury. Now turn to the three τοι's in Thukydides. One is in Perikles' funeral oration (2, 41, 2), which is an appeal to the pride of the Athenians; one in Kleon's harangue against the Lesbians, which is an appeal to the passions of the Athenians (3, 40, 4); and one in Nikias' final speech to his soldiers which is an appeal to their sympathies (7, 77, 2). A quiver in the face of Thukydides is always worth noticing.

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Walter Bagehot is credited with the climax: Lies, damned lies, statistics (A. J. P. X 471, 480, XIII 123, XXXIII 113); and if in my grammatical studies I have made large use of

statistics, I have done so in order to reduce the margin of impressionistic syntax, which is responsible for many of our rules. Impressions are valuable for originating research, but they must be controlled by actual count. Many years ago I hit upon the formula,  $\alpha\delta\delta\epsilon\iota + \text{aor. inf.} = \mu\eta + \text{aor. subj.}$ ,  $\delta\epsilon\iota\mu\eta + \text{pr. inf.} = \mu\eta + \text{pr. impv.}$  Comp. my note on Pindar O. 9, 40. Long afterwards one of my students undertook to verify it in the orators, and brought me his results. The formula seemed to need stretching. The same hasty generalization goes on everywhere. The other day I read a paragraph copied from the London Standard, in which the writer maintained the thesis: Good musicians die young. 'Painting and sculpture are conducive to long life. Yet music kills men young'. And then he went on to cite Schubert, Mozart, Bellini, Bizet, Purcell, Mendelssohn, Chopin, Weber, Schumann. Of course, he had the grace to admit that Verdi lived to a good old age; but I was not satisfied with that concession, and at random jotted down the names of ten famous composers—Haydn, Rossini, Liszt, Händel, Meyerbeer, Wagner, Berlioz, Bach, Brahms, Beethoven. The average result was 69.7. If I had added Verdi to the list, the average would have gone soaring above the accepted limit. The ashes of statistics are deceitful, I know, but they have their use.

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It will be remembered that Henri Estienne was very indignant at Scapula's abridgment of the Thesaurus, and proceeded to furnish his great work with a new title-page which bore on its face the epigram:

Quidam ἐπιτέμνων me capulo tenuis abdidit ensem;  
Aeger eram a scapulis, sanus at huc redeo.

On the part of the readers, however, there is nothing but gratitude for well-made epitomes; and thousands and thousands—among them the Editor of this Journal—have called the FOWLERS blessed for the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, based on the Philological Society's great thesaurus. It is a marvel for workmanship and cheapness, an indispensable companion to every busy scholar. A rather late acknowledgment, I grant, but I have purposely postponed the expression of my thanks until I had tested the value of the book, especially in the domain of English slang. It has seldom failed me, and it would perhaps be expecting too much to demand that Japaneseries like *netsuké* should be registered in an English dictionary. Another call for gratitude is the Teubner prospectus of an abridgment of the great *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, by Professor VOLLMER and his associates, which will bring within easy reach the main results of the vast collections that have been making for all these years, and will keep pace with the procession of the Thesaurus itself. The American agents, Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, have made the terms of subscription known in the advertising pages of the Journal.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

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